FBIS DAILY REPORT
CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 242 15 December 1980

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

- Dailies, Radio, Discuss Warsaw Pact Moscow Meeting AA 1
  - NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Comment [8 Dec] AA 1
  - NEPSZABADSAG Editorial [7 Dec] AA 2
  - Polish Press AA 3
  - Prague: Defense of Peace [Musil] AA 4
- Bulgarian Delegation Leaves for CEMA Talks AA 5

BULGARIA

- Agrarian Union Sends Message to Polish Congress C 1
- Leaders Greet USSR Counterparts on Soyuz Success [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 12 Dec] C 1
- Officials Receive Soviet Radio Industry Minister C 2
  - Meeting With Bozhinov C 2
  - Protocol Signed C 2
- USSR Microbiological Administration Head on Visit C 2
- Stanishev Reads BCP Message at Austrian CP Congress [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 9 Dec] C 3
- Council of Ministers Bureau Reprimands Managers C 4
- Briefs: Cooperation With Benin C 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Polish Solidarity Union Seen as Political Threat D 1
- Polish Crisis May 'Destabilize' European Order [Minarik in Bratislava PRAVDA 11 Dec] D 1
- RUDE PRAVO Urges Vigilance Against Imperialism [11 Dec] D 3
- Harustiak Comments on U.S. Economic 'Diversion' [ROLNICKE NOVINY 11 Dec] D 5
- Brezhnev Persian Gulf Proposal, U.S. Reply Viewed [Babiak] D 6
- Hoffmann Returns From Hungarian TU Congress D 7
- Communique on Visit of Nicaragua's Wheelock [RUDE PRAVO 10 Dec] D 7
- Dobos Views Progress of Nomenklatura Survey [Bratislava PRAVDA 11 Dec] D 8
- East Bohemian Party Committee Meeting Reported [RUDE PRAVO 5 Dec] D 9
- Socialist Party Holds Plenum on Economic Tasks [RUDE PRAVO 5 Dec] D 10
- Lenart Addresses Bratislava City Party Meeting D 10
- Briefs: Mongolian Delegation Departs D 10

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Honecker: 'Poland Can Rely on Fraternal Solidarity' E 1
- Muskie's Reaction to Brezhnev's Gulf Plan Scored [Ehrich] E 2
- Correspondent Criticizes U.S. Pressure on NATO [Reisz] E 3
- Commentary Views New U.S. Nuclear Weapons [Meissler] E 4
- FRG Warned Against Threatening Relations E 5
- Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Arrives in Berlin E 5
- SED's Mittag Meets With Visiting RCP Delegation [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 6-7 Dec] E 5
- Planning Chief Meets With Tanzanian Minister [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Dec] E 6
- Berlin Units Cooperate in National Defense [BERLINER ZEITUNG 11 Dec] E 6

HUNGARY

- Reportage on Trade Unions 24th Congress Proceedings F 1
    - Radio Report of Speeches F 1
    - More on Speeches F 3
    - Comment on 5-Day Work Week F 3
    - Jakab on Proposals F 4
    - Summary of Four Working Sessions F 4
    - Party Officials Attending F 6
    - Abraham: Construction Progress F 6
    - Gaspar Closing Speech Reported F 7
    - Resolution: MSZMP 'Leading Force' F 8
    - Closing, SZOT Members Elected F 10
    - Reception for New Officials F 10
- Foreign Delegations Attend, Address Congress F 11
    - Polish Delegate Speech F 11
    - More on Polish Speech F 12
    - Kadar Meets Polish Delegates F 13
    - Polish Delegates Meet Press F 13
    - CSSR Delegate Remarks F 14
    - FRG Union Leader Meets Kadar [DPA] F 14
    - GDR's Tisch Speaks F 15
    - Romanian Delegation Attending F 15
    - WFTU Official's Speech F 15
    - Report on International Activity [NEPSZAVA 11 Dec] F 16
- Kadar, Lazar Send Greetings to Lao Leader F 18
- Korom, Delegation Depart for Cuban Party Congress F 18
- Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Ends Official Visit F 18

POLAND

- ZSL Congress Opens; Kania, Leaders Attend G 1
    - Gucwa on Socialist Alliance G 1
    - Gucwa on Economic Reform G 1
    - Kania on ZSl, Crisis G 6
    - Wojtecki, Mach at Session G 7
    - ZSL Congress Delegates Speak G 7
    - Report on Congress Discussions G 8
- PZPR, ZSL, SD Approve Coordinated Actions Document G 9
    - Cooperation Declaration G 10
- Communist Leaders Comment on Current Crisis G 13
    - Honecker Expresses Confidence G 13
    - Kadar Remarks on Situation G 13
    - Hungary's Gaspar on Crisis G 13
- Moscow PRAVDA Report on Factory Debate Cited G 14
- Review of Foreign Media Comment on Situation G 14
- NATO Council Discusses Situation, 'Implications' G 15
- TRYBUNA LUDU Praises Warsaw Pact Moscow Meeting [Lesnikowski, 8 Dec] G 15
- Pact Summit Adopts Three-Stage Scenario for Poland [Marguerittte in Paris LE FIGARO 11 Dec] G 17
- Episcopate Meets, Urges Calm, Stabilization G 18
    - Espicopate Communique G 18
    - Foreign Reaction to Communique G 20
- Bishops' Appeal for Unity Read During Mass G 20
- ZYCIE WARSZAWY Hits Union's 'Contemptuous' Attitude G 23
- Preparations for Gdansk Ceremonies Near Completion G 24
    - Gdansk Entertainment Ban G 24
    - Monument Almost Completed G 24
    - Arrangements Outlined G 24

- Commentaries Recall December 1970 Unrest G 25
  - Warsaw Radio G 25
  - Trade Union Program G 26
- Pinkowski Meets Engineers, Technologists G 27
- Voivodship Leaders, Officials Gather in Warsaw G 27
  - Pinkowski Chairs Conference G 27
  - Propaganda Officials Meet G 27
  - Economic Secretaries Meeting G 28
- Krosno Voivodship Council Elects New Chairman G 28
- New Plock Voivoda Appointed 13 December G 28
- New Voivodas Appointed in Legnica, Szczecin G 28
- Border Stations Continue Transloading Soviet Goods G 29
- Leaders Exchange Messages on FRG Treaty Day G 29
- Czyrek Interviewed on FRG Treaty Decennial [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 6-7 Dec] G 29
- TRYBUNA LUDU Reportage on Belgian Minister's Visit G 30
  - Czyrek Dinner Speech [5 Dec] G 31
  - Communique on Visit [6-7 Dec] G 31

ROMANIA

- Ceausescu Meets With Yugoslavia's Grlickov H 1
- Cazacu Holds Working Meeting With Hungary's Gyenes H 2
- Ceausescu Meets With Sudanese Finance Minister H 2
  - Protocols Signed H 3
- Duma Meets With Spanish Foreign Minister in Madrid H 3

YUGOSLAVIA

- KOMUNIST Appeals To Let Poles Solve Own Problems [Bogavac] I 1
- Aksenov, Belorussian Delegation Arrive for Visit I 2
- Romanian Front Delegation Arrives for Talks I 3
- Bulgaria's Lilov Visits Montenegrin Littoral I 3
- Protocol on Border Regulations Signed With Bulgaria I 3
- Rusev, Bulgarian Economic Delegation Hold Talks I 4
- Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca Arrives I 4
  - Talks With Mijatovic I 4
  - Talks With Vrhovec, Departure I 4
- Colovic Comments on Nonaligned Conference I 5
- Rotar Discusses Meat Exports With Iranian Envoy I 6
- Mijatovic Receives Lebanese Communist Party Leader I 6
- Hodza Speaks at Welcoming Ceremony in Ghana I 6
- Vojvodina's Kmezic on Prospects for Trade With U.S. I 6
- Kostic Talks With Thai Minister in Bangkok [BORBA 6 Dec] I 7
- Grlickov Receives Outgoing PRC Ambassador [POLITIKA 6 Dec] I 7
- Markovic, Assembly Delegation Return From Austria I 7
- Vrhovec Hands Message to Papal Representative I 7
- Marinc Report to 25th LCY Central Committee Session I 7
- Proposals To Rebalance 1980 Federal Budget Issues I 10
- Medenica on 1981-85 Plan 'Strategic Orientations' I 10
- Serbia Delays Adopting Medium-Term Republic Plan [POLITIKA 27 Nov] I 11
- Popit 'Induced' To Rewrite Part of Report [BORBA 4 Dec] I 11
- Self-Defense Exercise in Titograd Reported I 12
- Lolic on 'Opposition Platform' Attempt, Djilas [BORBA 6 Dec] I 13

DAILIES, RADIO DISCUSS WARSAW PACT MOSCOW MEETING

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Comment

LD081024 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0350 GMT 8 Dec 80

["NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Moscow Results Show Constructiveness"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec (ADN)--Under the headline "Determined For Peace and Socialism," Monday's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND pays tribute to the meeting of the Warsaw Pact states' leading representatives. The paper writes: "The Moscow results exemplify the constructive and responsible way in which the Warsaw Pact states tackle topical questions of international politics. This attitude stands in sharp contrast to endeavors by those forces of imperialism and international reaction which promote confrontation and provocation, which try to poison the international climate and constantly aggravate the world situation."

The commentary continues that the exchange of views dealt with the situation during the past few months. "For the socialist community this was a time for the consistent continuation of that policy which has always been typical for the Warsaw Pact states: their joint consistent work at all levels for the consolidation of peace and international security." The May proposals of the fraternal states had a positive effect on activities in Europe and other regions and influenced favorably the work of numerous international bodies.

The Warsaw Pact states, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND emphasized, "point with their initiatives toward the only possible way of improving international life. They pursue a realistic and constructive program which corresponds to the interests of the peoples."

Political contacts between states with different social systems have been activated "despite the disruptive attempts by those forces which sought to impute their own hostile attitude toward detente to the socialist states. The dialogue between states on the most important international problems was continued--despite and especially because of the complicated world situation...everywhere the Warsaw Pact states work consistently for implementing the comprehensive program for consolidating international peace which they proposed in the declaration of their Political Consultative Committee 6 months ago. This strengthens mankind in its hope that the danger of war can be averted. This is a great encouragement for the peoples to act positively for the great objective of preventing a new war, continuing political detente and supplementing it with military detente."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND continues: "It cannot be overlooked that in the present international arena negative trends are more prominent than hitherto. It is fitting to look at them, without any illusion." Particularly great "are those dangers emanating from the imperialist policy of the forced arms race: Areas of tension and military confrontation are not reduced in number, and new conflicts burden the international situation." This has induced the socialist community of states to tie its constructive proposals to an appeal for greater vigilance. "There must be no room whatever for the imperialist forces' aggressive endeavors. Attempts by reaction to damage the positions of the socialist states, developing countries and national liberation movements must be resolutely thwarted."

The SED central organ underlines: "The seriousness of the international situation requires the still closer, still more effective cooperation of all progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces for peace and disarmament, above all in the nuclear sector, for detente and joint activity [zusammenwirken] on an equal footing. The objective is to strengthen further the solidarity of the peoples in the fight against the danger of a war."

The Moscow meeting has again exemplified the identity and connection between socialism and peace, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes. "Hence the states of the socialist community do everything in their power in order to consolidate and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the fraternal alliance on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and internationalist solidarity, equality, and mutually beneficial cooperation." The paper refers to the guidelines [hinweise] on mutual information concerning questions of socialist and communist construction and cooperation as well as on socialist Poland, as contained in the declaration on the meeting.

In the GDR "the results of Moscow are noted with satisfaction and great approval. Our party and the whole country, at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, will continue to do everything in order to strengthen the community of socialist states and to safeguard peace. The Moscow Meeting provides new impulses for high performance in the preparation of the 10th SED party congress," it is said in conclusion. The GDR is continuing uncompromisingly the policy of integrating economic and social policies "in order to safeguard and gradually extend the material and cultural standard of living of the people achieved so far."

NEPSZABADSAG Editorial

LD072011 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)--"In the foregoing days the propaganda machinery of certain NATO countries, and even some responsible government quarters there, grabbed every kind of pretext to force once again a slandering and instigating campaign on the world. They did so with the aim to shift the responsibility on the socialist countries for the armament race decided by them (the NATO countries) and to return the world to cold war," writes NEPSZABADSAG in its Sunday editorial entitled "Well-Considered, Responsible Politics" which deals with the Moscow meeting of the party and government leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

"The communique issued on the Moscow meeting renders completely conspicuous who wants what and the reaction of various quarters vis-a-vis vital issues involving mankind. In face of war hysteria and the policy of provocations, the countries of the Warsaw Treaty have answered with a policy line imbued with the sense of responsibility and the spirit of struggle for peace and security," points out NEPSZABADSAG. It goes on to say: "The shared and firm desire of the member countries is to do everything, in cooperation with all peace-loving countries and social forces, for safeguarding the achievements of peaceful coexistence, for removing obstacles raised in the path of international detente and for extending political detente to military sphere. The participants of the Moscow session welcomed the beginning of the Madrid meeting and expressed their willingness to develop their relations, in a constructive spirit, also with the United States, if the new American administration shows a similar behaviour.

"It is a matter of good luck for humanity," emphasizes the Budapest paper, "that the socialist countries rallied in the Warsaw Treaty represent in the world an invincible community which would not be provoked, and even has adequate soberness and force and which, together with the other followers of peace, is willing to obstruct the catastrophic policy of quarters--unfortunately these still command influence--risking the fate of the world and nations. The socialist countries are ready to hold negotiations aimed at curbing the armaments race endangering humanity's welfare and security, and they are willing to have rational compromise too. Their willingness, however, does not indicate their weakness but their sense of responsibility for the fate of the world," establishes NEPSZABADSAG.

The Budapest daily goes on to observe: "The participants of the Moscow meeting did not seek to keep silence that the international situation is difficult and the armament spree is assuming ever more dangerous proportions. They simultaneously expressed the conviction that detente can again be consolidated with joint force. They also cautioned against the aggressive ambitions of imperialist forces and attempts of the reaction aimed at causing damage to the socialist countries, to young, developing states which have just taken the road to freedom and to national liberation movements. Drawing the necessary conclusions and keeping in view the principles of Marxism-Leninism, internationalist solidarity, and equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, they are closing up their ranks.

"The leaders of the participating countries expressed their conviction that the communists, working class and working masses of fraternal Poland will be able to overcome the emerging difficulties and ensure their country's furtherdevelopment on the path of socialism. They reaffirmed: Socialist Poland, the Polish United Workers Party and the Polish people can definitely count on the fraternal solidarity and support of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

"In keeping with the interests and possibilities of our nation, our people, the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will do everything for the objectives outlined in the joint document. It will do so in the conviction that despite every difficulty and obstacle, sobriety will have the upper hand and detente may be continued which was attained at the cost of so much sacrifice," concludes the editorial in the Budapest daily.

Polish Press

LD081106 Warsaw PAP in English 0804 GMT 8 Dec 80

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Dec (PAP)--"Within the framework of generally accepted socialist socio-political order every country has the right to its own solutions, to taking into account its national peculiarities and combining them with the rules of socialist construction. This is accompanied by the right to decide on one's own destiny according to the principles of independence and sovereignty, without the use of force or even the threat to use it in relations among states.

"This interpretation of international relations, stemming from the decisions of the United Nations Charter, was recalled in the communique published after the meeting in Moscow of the leaders of states-members of the Warsaw Treaty," ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote.

The destiny of Poland should also be decided in the atmosphere of dialogue and detente, both in the internal aspect and in international conditions of our country. Without peace and order on the Vistula it is hard to imagine a peaceful, secure Europe. People's Poland as a member of the socialist community is simultaneously an important element of European political order, the daily pointed out.

"Maybe future historians will be able to give a fuller assessment of the significance of this meeting than contemporary commentators," wrote today's PUWP daily newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU adding that "already today, however, the opinion prevails in the world that the Moscow talks of Warsaw Treaty party and state leaders were an event of an immense weight. This is evidenced both by the top-high level of the meeting, time in which it was convened and the conclusions reached by its participants.

"The socialist countries have affirmed," reads the document, "that it is necessary to further contribute to ameliorate the international climate, consolidate peace, continue the policy of detente, develop international cooperation, solve all the conflicts through negotiations.

"Worthy of noting is the fact that this constructive, calm-keyed document comes out at a time when the Western world is flooded with disturbing speculations over the danger of instability in Europe. An instability--let us stress it--whose source would be the materialization of Western forecasts that the Poles would not manage to solve their difficult problems themselves."

Prague: Defense of Peace

LD150224 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Karel Musil Commentary in the "Living Words" series]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of the eighties we are once again bearing witness to the fact that the North Atlantic pact, the most powerful and most active tool of world imperialism, is assuming the role of the driving force in the modified version of the global strategy of the most reactionary forces in the United States against the world revolutionary movement, and in particular, against the community of socialist countries. One does not have to look far for evidence, because each day brings new proof. It is sufficient to recall the results of the recent meetings of the NATO bodies in Brussels. The United States forces its allies there to increase their armaments expenditures, in spite of the difficult economic situation in which they find themselves, in order to upset the existing military balance to the detriment of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the detriment of the policy of detente and the security of nations.

And not only this. In Brussels measures were adopted, as indicated by information acquired by some Western observers, showing that the North Atlantic Pact intends to engage in acts of provocation against independent countries. This has culminated in gross interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, with the unconcealed intention of disturbing the unity of the countries of the socialist community.

It would serve no purpose to conceal that these and other sections of the imperialist forces have created in the world a very complicated and dangerous situation and for that reason nations must maintain their vigilance. This, of course, does not mean that we ought to succumb to some kind of pessimism. The older among us remember very well that due to reaction, the world oscillated on many occasions during the past decades between war and peace but that, as a result of the strength and solid unity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, it was always possible to ward off the danger of such a threat. Yes, it was our socialist community which broke the vicious circle "peace--war--peace" and which has created conditions for mankind to enjoy a life of peace and peaceful cooperation, and it will be like this in the future as well, as confirmed by the recent meeting of the highest representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in Moscow.

Peace-loving people the world over welcomed the statement of the socialist countries that they are resolved to defend peace in the world and that they will act in unity and resolutely against all attempts of world imperialism to weaken the positions of socialism, democracy and peace.

This is why bourgeois propaganda is stepping up even more the anti-Soviet and anticommunist slanders and lies in the false hope that they will succeed in concealing the intentions of world reaction. But the reaction to the proposals to solve the dangerous situation in the Middle East submitted in the Indian parliament by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev shows that the hopes of the advocates of imperialism are futile.

People are not so stupid as not to be able to discern in such a question like the issue of peace or war on which side the truth lies, that it is on the side of communists, on the side of the socialist countries.

We know very well that despite all the successes achieved, successes that have often been breathtaking, we still owe a great deal to socialism in our everyday work. We have come to understand that it is easier to build new factories, dams and roads than to change the thinking of people that has been shaped for thousands of years. We do not always consistently fight the residue of obtuse bourgeois thinking, which in its consequences makes the life of the bourgeoisie more vexing and more unpleasant. Neither are we sufficiently consistent in the struggle against bureaucracy and other antisocialist phenomena.

These days we recall the 10th anniversary of the publication at the December session of the CPCZ Central Committee of an important document: "Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development of the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." This document is not merely important for the party, which already drew and continues to draw the necessary conclusions from it, but it also demands from each of us that we be aware of our duties to the socialist community and act accordingly, master Marxist-Leninist teaching and be guided by it, and fight actively against all shortcomings and encourage everything new that advances our socialist community.

It is, of course, correct to say that we have to see the developments in our country in light of the developments within our whole socialist community and throughout the world. This is why that part of the report on the Moscow meeting of the representatives of the Warsaw Pact was received in our country with satisfaction. The participants in that meeting expressed their conviction that the communists, the working class the working people of the fraternal Polish People's Republic will succeed in solving their complicated problems and that Poland is and will remain socialist. In this lies a clear expression of our proletarian and socialist internationalism. All attempts of the imperialists to weaken the socialist community will come to nothing, no matter how cunningly they are planned. The imperialists can still hinder the move toward peace and security of nations; they can still cause difficulties, but they no longer have the strength to halt or reverse this development. The best guarantee of this, as proven by the experiences since the end of World War II, is our socialist community, the world vanguard of progress and peace of which our socialist republic forms a solid part.

BULGARIAN DELEGATION LEAVES FOR CEMA HEALTH TALKS

AU081630 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 8 Dec 80

[Text] On 8 December, a health delegation led by Radoy Popivanov, minister of national health, departed for Moscow. The delegation will take part in the 11th session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in Health Preservation, which will take place from 9-11 December.

AGRARIAN UNION SENDS MESSAGE TO POLISH CONGRESS

AU132133 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Excerpts] The Eighth Congress of the Polish United Peasant Party [ZSL] has opened in Warsaw. The congress is attended by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council; and Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

With prolonged applause, the delegates greeted the greetings message of Petur Tanchev, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU] secretary, to the delegates of the congress.

In the delegates to the Eighth ZSL Congress, we are greeting the tested and loyal ally of the PZPR, who have made their great patriotic contribution to the struggle of the Polish people against capitalism, fascism and the Hitlerite invaders, and who for as long as four decades have been working to build a new socialist Poland, the greetings message reads.

The united agrarians of Bulgaria are deeply convinced that the ZSL, which has given innumerable proof of its loyalty to the ideals of socialism and the international struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, will also at its present congress express its unshakable resolve, together with the PZPR, to stop the attempts of antisocialist forces aimed at undermining Poland's socialist achievements and to divert this country from its historical path of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. We are convinced that Poland is and will always remain a socialist state and a solid link of the socialist community, as well as of the Warsaw Pact. We are convinced that the Eighth ZSL Congress will contribute to the struggle for further developing cooperation in the struggle for the socialist prosperity of the Polish People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to the consolidation of the worldwide socialist community, the greetings message states.

LEADERS GREET USSR COUNTERPARTS ON SOYUZ SUCCESS

AU150924 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Dec 80 p 1

["Text" of greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, and Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politubro member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the USSR Supreme Council Presidium, and Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the success of the Soyuz T-3 flight]

[Text] Dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people and on our personal behalf, we send the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, the entire Soviet people and you personally, most cordial greetings on the success of the Soyuz T-3 flight and the successful implementation of the flight program by the crew commander Lt Col Leonid Kizim, board engineer Oleg Makarov, twice hero of the USSR and pilot-cosmonaut, and cosmonaut-researcher Genadiy Strekalov.

The heroism and selflessness of the Soviet cosmonauts, demonstrated during the testing of the three-man variant of the Soyuz ship, were a demonstration of the recent achievements of scientific-technical thought and a new page in the heroid history of the conquest of space. The reponsible repair-preventive work done on the Soyuz-6 systems and units--this being the fourth year of Soyuz-6's orbit in space--and the research and experiments which were conducted, make a valuable contribution to the further successful development and planned implementation of the Soviet program on peaceful research of space, and to the progress of science and technology.

The Bulgarian people greeted with happiness and admiration the remarkable achievement of the Soviet cosmonauts, which brightly symbolizes the selfless and enthusiastic work of the communists and all working people of Lenin's great country in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you, dear comrades, and through you all participants in the preparation and implementation of the space flight, as well as the fraternal Soviet people new further successes in conquering space in the name of world peace and progress.

Signed: Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

OFFICIALS RECEIVE SOVIET RADIO INDUSTRY MINISTER

Meeting With Bozhinov

AU121815 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Todor Bozhinov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received Petr Stepanovich Pleshakov, USSR minister of radio industry. They discussed questions concerning the further intensification of cooperation between the two ministries, above all in the field of computer techniques, during the forthcoming 5-Year Plan period and up to 1990. Certain tasks in connection with the implementation of the general scheme for specialization and production sharing between the USSR and Bulgaria were also dealt with.

Protocol Signed

AU131602 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] The visit of Petr Pleshakov, USSR minister of radio industry, ended today. During his visit he met Vazil Khubchev, minister of electronics and electrical engineering. They discussed problems of further intensifying and expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries in the field of electronic-computer engineering, and in implementing the general scheme of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation.

Tonight the two ministers signed a protocol on development of specialization and production sharing in the radio industry, which opens up the opportunity to expand integration between the two ministries in the field of electronics and computer engineering.

USSR MICROBIOLOGICAL ADMINISTRATION HEAD ON VISIT

AU131610 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Todor Bozhinov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received (Rostislav Rychkov), chief of the Main Administration of the Microbiological Industry attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, who is visiting Bulgaria. They discussed questions of expanding and intensifying economic and scientific technical cooperation in the microbiological industry between the two countries.

In accordance with the general scheme of specialization and production sharing in the field of material production between the USSR and Bulgaria up to 1990, Georgi Pankov, minister of chemical industry, and (Rostislav Rychkov) signed an agreement in Sofia today on specialization in the production and mutual deliveries of microbiological substances for the period 1981-85, and a branch program on economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to 1990.

STANISHEV READS BCP MESSAGE AT AUSTRIAN CP CONGRESS

AU132245 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 80 p 5

[Report on greetings message on behalf of the BCP Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Austrian Communist Party [KPOE], read by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, on 8 December 1980 in Vienna]

[Text] Vienna, 8 Dec (BTA)--The leader of the BCP Central Committee delegation to the 24th KPOE Congress, Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, read a greetings message on behalf of the BCP Central Committee to the supreme forum of the Austrian communists. The message expresses most sincere and fraternal greetings on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its first secretary, as well as on behalf of all the working people in socialist Bulgaria.

The greetings message points out: Between our two parties--the BCP and the KPOE--traditional relations of friendship and cooperation exist, relations that are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The message notes that the remarkable report read by Franz Muhri, KPOE chairman, contains the most important tasks facing the KPOE in consolidating and expanding its strength and influence. This report clearly outlines the path of further intensification of the struggle against large capital and the monopolies, the struggle for stopping the arms race and for pursuing the process of detente and consolidating peace. Along this path, socialist prospects for the future can be opened up for the working people in Austria as well.

The message further points out that as a result of the efforts devoted by the USSR and other socialist countries, as a result of the efforts made by all progressive and peace-loving forces, positive results have been achieved throughout the last decade in alleviating international tension. Favorable prerequisites have been created for comprehensive mutual relations among states, for the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence, as well as for social progress. Austria and the Austrian people felt to a considerable extent the positive influence of the process of detente. This process of worldwide development, however, the consolidation of peace and the successes of the peoples' national liberation struggles have frightened imperialism and reaction. As a result of this, they went over to a counterattack, by intensifying the arms race to an unprecedented extent and by increasing their ideological and other subversive activities against the socialist countries, the greetings message points out. It is unnecessary to dwell once again upon the NATO decision on deploying new types of nuclear missiles on West European territory, the message states. It is hardly necessary for us to dwell on the latest adventurous doctrines of the U.S. administration, or on the artificially created tension around the events in Afghanistan. The trend toward sabotaging the process of detente, the trend toward a new arms race and the attempts to actually resume the policy of "cold war" which is being conducted by the U.S. administration, and which is being stubbornly imposed by their NATO allies, is confronting the world with the danger of a new war. Along with the most reactionary imperialist forces in the West, the present Chinese leadership is acting in the same manner and is also trying to exacerbate the international atmosphere, aspiring toward hegemonism.

As the BCP greetings message recalls, the BCP has stressed on numerous occasions that there is no more important and decisive question for the very existence of mankind than the question of war and peace. Today this is the main, crucial question for all mankind, regardless of men's national and social differences. This question concerns not only the communists but all people throughout the world; this question fills all people with deep emotion. The BCP, the greetings message further states, thinks that this moment of history is particularly important and involves particular responsibility. It is now more than ever necessary to make a thorough analysis of the world situation from a class point of view. It is now more than ever necessary to join together the efforts of all communist and workers parties for settling the important tasks facing our movement, and for intensifying all forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among our fraternal parties.

After pointing out that in 1981 the Bulgarian people will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the historical April plenum of the BCP Central Committee, and the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the message stresses that today the Bulgarian communists and all Bulgarian people are working with perseverance and enthusiasm for a worthy celebration of these events and for a worthy preparation of the 12th BCP Congress, which will be held in 3 months. In proudly mentioning our successes and the comprehensive upsurge of our socialist motherland, we are at the same time taking into account the fact that these successes have become possible because our country is a member of the socialist community, enjoying equal rights, and thanks to the fact that our country is participating, on an equitable basis, in the international socialist division of labor, the message states. This is why the main trend in Bulgaria's socioeconomic development will remain in future intensifying comprehensive cooperation and drawing closer together the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, as well as the other fraternal socialist countries. This cooperation is one of the most important prerequisites for the further successes of our country in building socialist society, as well as in the protection of ourachievements wherever and whenever they are threatened by internal or external enemies, the greetings message points out. This is why the BCP participated in the Moscow meeting of leaders of fraternal parties, and fully supports the communique adopted at this meeting. This fact is a new confirmation of the genuine, fraternal class solidarity and consistent socialist internationalism in practice. The greetings message closes by expressing wishes for success to the 24th KPOE Congress and to this party's noble and responsible struggle.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BUREAU REPRIMANDS MANAGERS

AU111855 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 80

[Summary from poor reception] The Bureau of the Council of Ministers has drawn the attention of the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials, and the attention of the National Agro-Industrial Union's Executive Committee to the necessity to take prompt measures to implement tasks assigned by the state for the 1981-82 period in various enterprises. The Council of Ministers Bureau severely reprimands the general managers of the following state economic trusts:

Penko Penkov of the grain and fodder industry state economic trust; Stoyan Kindekov of the Vinprom [wine industry] state economic trust; Nikola Ognyanov of the Bulgarplod [Bulgarian fruit] state economic trust; (Dimitur Dimitrov) of the Bulgarian sugar industrial-agrarian trust; Nikola Spasov of the Rodopa state economic trust; (Lazar Manev) of the water resources state economic trust; Todor Tonev of the Mladost [youth] state economic trust; (Ivaylo Dobrev) of the cement and lime production state economic trust; Georgi Kolchev of the construction ceramics and effective materials state economic trust; as well as the manager of the steel-concrete construction combine [name indistinct].

The decision of the Council of Ministers Bureau once more reminds all ministers and department managers, as well as the chairmen of okrug people's councils executive committees and the managers of economic organizations, that they must immediately being to exert control and strictly hold the officials, who have committed shortcomings, responsible. They must assist all those departments where the implementation of counterplans is lagging behind and they must create all necessary conditions for a nationwide expansion of socialist competition.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH BENIN--In implementing the cooperation protocol signed between the BCP and the People's Revolution Party of Benin, a working group of the BCP Central Committee visited the People's Republic of Benin from 29 November through 6 December 1980. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO In Bulgarian 9 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

POLISH SOLIDARITY UNION SEEN AS POLITICAL THREAT

LD121734 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] [Passage indistinct] have met in Moscow to assess international affairs. Their joint declaration expressed the fact that the socialist countries are determined to contribute to the process of relaxation of international tension. In connection with developments in Poland, the Warsaw Treaty countries emphasized that this is the concern of Poland's party and state leadership, which must tackle the situation. Naturally it must seek solutions which continue to lead Poland toward socialism. To constantly give more scope to antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces would amount to a betrayal of socialism.

The latest developments in and around Poland have confirmed the existence of a realistic threat to the fate of socialism in Poland. Lech Walesa, representing the so-called free trade unions Solidarity, said in an interview given to the UPI news agency that Solidarity will closely cooperate with a counterrevolutionary center calling itself committee for political and social self defense. They are our friends and we shall help them they can always count on me, He said. And he added that measures taken by the government, with which Solidarity might not agree, will be countered by a fierce blow which will hit the whole country. This means that Lech Walesa would not hesitate to use 6 million members of Solidarity for supporting counterrevolutionary plans of enemies of socialist Poland.

What about his statements about Solidarity being a nonpolitical organization? What he told the UPI reporter simply boils down to political demands. Such statements naturally are to the liking of all those who would like to use developments in Poland for their own ends. Antisocialist forces count on the support of ruling circles in imperialist countries as well as, for example, on the support of reactionary trade union centers.

The American AFL-CIO, for example, makes no bones about $140,000 sent to Solidarity. Fifty thousand was used for purchasing a printing machine which will be sent to Poland. But before Solidarity can print its own material it will be able to distribute the Polish translation of the AFL-CIO bulletin which the United States trade union organization started sending to Poland. This naturally is interference and certainly will not contribute to calming the situation in Poland.

The same applies to deliberations during the Atlantic week in Brussels. The NATO foreign ministers discussed the situation in Poland behind closed doors. But it is interesting to note that quite a lot was made public immediately. In other words, according to the way of thinking in Washington and elsewhere, it is advisable to exert pressure on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and at the same time to boost the self-confidence of Poland's antisocialist forces. And this means that the committee of political and social self defense and the leadership of Solidarity are to increase their demands, while the party and state leadership of Poland is expected to withdraw step by step. But those are plans which would dangerously aggravate the Polish crisis.

POLISH CRISIS MAY 'DESTABILIZE' EUROPEAN ORDER

AU121810 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 80 p 7

[Pavol Minarik article: "The Development of the Situation in Poland After the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Session; for the Socialist Character of Renewal"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE SITUATION OF OUR NORTHERN NEIGHBOR, SOCIALIST POLAND REQUIRES A CLEAR AND FRANK EVALUATION. [paragraph continues]

TODAY, IN THE FIRST DAYS OF DECEMBER, CRITICAL VOICES CALLING FOR GREATER ACTIVITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PARTY'S POLITICAL WORK ARE, AT LAST, BEING HEARD EVEN WITHIN THE PZPR. HOWEVER, IN PRICNIPLE AN AGREEMENT EXISTS THAT THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE SIXTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION, WHICH DETERMINED THE COURSE AIMED AT OVERCOMING THE PROFOUND CRISIS AND THE COURSE OF ACTION OF NORMALIZE THE COUNTRY'S LIFE, IS CORRECT.

This also arose from the report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, entitled "The Tasks of the Party in the Struggle for the Socialist Character of the Renewal of Social Life," which was delivered by S. Kania, the first secretary of the party Central Committee, at the seventh session. Among other things, he stressed that the party and the government have undertaken measures aimed at preventing the deterioration of the situation in the market. To achieve that, Poland is implementing changes in the structure of production, it is importing or will import, in particular, additional foodstuffs, and it is getting new credits aborad. Of particular importance is the ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION, within the framework of which Poland will receive additional raw and other materials, fuels and foodstuffs, but also credits in freely convertible currency amounting to $1.3 BILLION. The Polish comrades profoundly value the assistance of the other fraternal socialist countries.

The problems which have already been resolved or have begun to be solved in the past 2 months are evidence of the party's endeavor to fulfill the conclusions of the sixth session on implementing socialist renewal. However, at the same time it is indisputable that the renewal process in the Polish People's Republic is coming up against no small obstacles. The political and economic situation in the country is still very complex and harbors many dangers. Tension is great. Nervousness and disquiet are manifest. Passionate discussions continue. The situation in society has not been stabilized by far. The broad strata of society had hoped that the registration of the new trade unions would reduce tension in the country. Unfortunately, new unfavorable phenomena are increasingly emerging and a number of district and enterprise [rezortne] Solidarity organizations have been creating an atmosphere of strikes and resorting to various threats. This proves THAT SOME SOLIDARITY PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS ARE EXCEEDING THE JURISDICTION OF THE TRADE UNION AS IT HAS BEEN DELINEATED IN THE STATUES. This is actually--as S. Kania also emphasized at the seventh PZPR Central Committee session--a violation of law and the acquisition of authority that exclusively belongs to the state's power, adding that dual rule is not possible in any state, and thus also not in Poland.

In recent days it has become more and more evident that groups and persons have infiltrated some of the sections of the new Solidarity trade union which have connections with the centers of imperialist diversion abroad and which pursue objective hostile to socialism and the people's government. The weekly POLITYKA wrote recently that there are people in Solidarity who have been brought to the top only by uncontrolled developments. They are surrounded by advisers, even including political opponents of socialism in Poland. The group of leaders contains people of varied moral calibre and various political views. There is no lack of Solidarity leaders in plants and enterprises who have the reputation of being the poorest workers and failures who have finally been given the opportunity to "let off steam." It is precisely they who are shouting, who are the most aggressive and intolerant, POLITYKA wrote.

The enemies of socialism in Poland have so far been tactically joining the workers class movement that serves them as a springborad into the next phase. HOWEVER, THEIR PATH IS NOT THE PATH OF THE WORKERS CLASS. They are after the dismantlement and overthrow of Poland's socialist statehood. In its essence this plan is antiworker and counterrevolutionary. Evidence of that are the numerous declarations and publications of the opponents of socialism in the Polish People's Republic.

They are trying today to misuse the mood and the uncontrolled demonstrations of some antisocial groups, thus prolonging the crisis in Poland. [paragraph continues]

However, at present the attitude toward the way out of the crisis and toward stabilization is the main criterion of the awareness of responsibility for the tranquility and security of the country. THIS TRANQUILITY, WHICH IS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITES FOR A SUCCESSFUL COURSE OF THE RENEWAL PROCESS, IS STILL SERIOUSLY ENDANGERED. Therefore it is high time to sober up and comprehend that the fundamental condition for the nation's fate is to immediately halt activity that endangers and weakens the functioning of the people's state and, moreover, whose consequences might destabilize the peaceful order in Europe. We are working with great patience and calm deliberation--S. Kania said at the seventh PZPR Central Committee session--but no one should count on the hesitancy and tolerance of our party and state power when it comes to defending socialism. The defense of socialism is the defense of the highest national values, the defense of Poland's interests, S. Kania stressed.

Despite the unusually difficult situation, conditions exist in the Polish People's Republic for the present crisis to be resolved. The key to that is to restore the party's offensive nature and ideological cohesion in implementing socialist renewal, in struggling against the threat to socialism. We must not permit the correct criticism of errors to become transformed into the negation and rejection of genuine results of the past, achieved by the party and the whole nation. AT PRESENT, THE YEARNING FOR TRANQUILITY AND THE NORMALIZATION OF LIFE IS SPREADING THROUGHOUT EVER BROADER STRATA OF POLISH SOCIETY. More Poles are increasingly realizing that the renewal of social life must and can be carried out only under conditions of stabilizing and strengthening the economy and political and social life on socialist foundations.

RUDE PRAVO URGES VIGILANCE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AU121350 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Vigilance Against Imperialism"]

[Text] The socialist countries have again, and clearly, expressed their resolve to continue contributing toward normalizing the international atmosphere, developing international cooperation and solving all conflicts through negotiations. However, at the same time the leading party and state representatives of the Warsaw Pact member countries, who met last week in Moscow, have urgently pointed out that the present situation demands increased vigilance against the aggressive endeavors of imperialist forces and against reactionary attempts to harm the positions of socialist countries, developing states and national liberation movements.

These attempts are not new. From the very emergence of the Soviet state the imperialists have been trying to destroy it--at first through direct intervention and the support of counterrevolutionary gangs, later through economic blockades, and lastly through direct war invasions of fascist troops. After World War II they unleashed a "cold war" against the Soviet Union and the countries that had decided to take the socialist path, and also a "hot war" against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK). They did not give up their aims even after the correlation of forces, which was changing to their detriment, had forced them to agree to the policy of detente.

And now again, especially since last year, the reactionary forces of imperialism are trying in every way to achieve a turn in international developments, a turn from the policy of detente back to one of increasing international tension and evoking conflict situations which serve them as a pretext for further unwinding the spiral of feverish armament. The course of the recent NATO bodies' session again confirms this.

The entire activity of the adversaries of the policy of detente is aimed at renewing the world hegemony of imperialism and at braking the development of real socialism. Since the times of the "cold war" when American imperialism was openly proclaiming the "rollback" strategic concept as its aim (i.e., "the pushing back of communism beyond the original borders"), a lot has changed; the methods used by imperialist policy have also changed--but not its goals. As far back as 1960, J.F. Kennedy, who was then U.S. president, called the "rollback" strategy ineffective and submitted a program to the Senate, in which he recommended that "flexible methods for use in Eastern Europe, adjusted to circumstances" be developed--methods which could be used "slowly and prudently" to realize the plans for separating the other socialist countries from their main support, the Soviet Union, specifically by "weakening their economic and ideological dependence on the Soviet Union," as he suggested.

Thus the plan is 20 years old. During this time several variants of this policy have been worked out, one during Johnson's presidency, another during Nixon's time; and a particularly dangerous variant is the work of Carter's personal adviser and inveterate anticommunist Brzezinski. In implementing this plan, imperialism is using a copious arsenal of means and methods, including economic influence and pressure. The various forms of ideological subversion and gross meddling in the internal affairs of socialist countries are most often used. For this meddling imperialist propaganda makes use of tools like the American transmitters Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty, which serve to spread misinformation as well as to directly instigate antisocialist elements--for instance, now in Poland. And it also makes use of various so-called dissidents, who are mostly directly in the services of imperialist propaganda, but also--as the Polish events are again proving--are the tools of subversion which is helping evoke internal disruption. It is therefore no coincidence that every time they get into straits, both Western propaganda and the official representatives of certain capitalist states try to throw the dissidents a lifebelt, under the motto of "defense of human rights."

The methods are changing, but imperialism's aim remains the same: to weaken and reverse socialism. In connection with Polish events this goal was impertinently expressed by certain Western communications media. For instance, the WELT AM SONNTAG--a paper of the Springer concern--wrote this Sunday that, allegedly, "nothing else is left" for the Polish side "than to permit the development which will not only break the legs of communist power, but also its backbone." These words cannot leave anybody in doubt about the aims of the reactionary imperialist circles and their helpers in Poland. They would like a development of Polish events which would lead toward a further escalation of internal tension in the country, and thus necessarily also of international tension, and which would thus reverse everything that has been achieved through the long years of the detente process.

[This would happen] because Poland in fact, is not situated somewhere on the edge of the world; it lies in the center of Europe and represents an important link in the community of socialist countries in their political, economic and defense system. That is why any attempt to weaken this link necessarily also weakens the stability of all of Europe.

But it is exactly this that the reactionary imperialist circles have been attempting to achieve these several months, through their propaganda and subversion centers. From the very first days of the strikes on the Polish coast these centers have been devoting increased attention to various antisocialist elements and groups in Poland; from special funds created for this purpose, financial means have been flowing into Poland from the United States and Western Europe for the support of subversive activities. Bourgeois propaganda has placed the halo of "national heroes" over the heads of subversive elements which have striven in every way to make use of the workers' dissatisfaction to implant antisocialist slogans into the workers' ranks and incite them to newer and newer strikes, which have aggravated Poland's already difficult economic situation and led to a serious internal crisis. [paragraph continues]

Those who are now offering Poland "disinterested assistance" must be reminded that the Gdansk strikes alone have cost the Polish People's Republic almost $3 billion and that the total losses from the strike movement are yet higher.

The imperialist subversive centers and their tools in Poland are still trying to make use of the present crisis to evoke anarchist conditions, undermine the foundations of the socialist system in Poland and eliminate the PZPR from the leading position in the state and from the political scene in Poland in general. That is why all socialist countries were relieved to hear of the decision of the seventh PZPR Central Committee session to resolutely ward off this kind of development.

That is why the leading representatives of socialist countries expressed at their Moscow meeting their full confidence in the Polish communists and their conviction that communists, the workers class and the working people of fraternal Poland will be capable of overcoming internal difficulties and of ensuring the further development of the country along the socialist road.

However, it is impossible to ignore that the imperialists are not giving up their aim to destabilize the socialist system in Poland; that they are continuing their attempts to conduct a "war of nerves" in connection with this country and that they are spreading diverse reports that are alarming, false and provocative in order to keep Poland and the whole world in a state of tension. Even the Brussels session of NATO bodies is stirring up the "Polish question" to substantiate feverish armament and try to aggravate international relations. That is why it is necessary to be increasingly vigilant against imperialism's aggressive endeavors.

HARUSTIAK COMMENTS ON U.S. ECONOMIC 'DIVERSION'

AU121540 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 11 Dec 80 p 5

[Dr Dusan Harustiak article: "Imperialism's Economic Diversion Against Socialist Countries: Economy and Politics"]

[Excerpts] The imperialist powers, especially the United States, ignore the generally valid principles of international relations anchored in the UN Charter and other similar international documents. Vis-a-vis the socialist countries, and in particular the USSR and Czechoslovakia, they have introduced a whole system of diversion in the political and ideological sphere as well as in trade relations. The discriminatory measures in international trade, for example between the United States and the socialist countries, are only a part of that diversion.

The lasting validity of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the pernicious, aggressive and antipeace essence of imperialism does not change even if its tactics change, in being reaffirmed. For example, this can be seen in the so-called differentiated attitude of the U.S. Government or its allies toward the individual socialist states, above all toward the members of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. The aim is known: Imperialism is trying to drive a wedge between us; to weaken our ideological, political and economic unity; and consequently to destroy socialism as a political-economic system as well as a social system of states.

International reaction--during the whole postwar period--has not missed a chance to attempt to change the socialist order and its economic system, and not only in Czechoslovakia. It is not surprising, for example, that the same Zbigniew Brzezinski who in 1968 in Prague was giving lessons on "political science" and "global economy" to Czechoslovak revisionists and counterrevolutionary elements, let himself again be heard also in connection with the current events in Poland. As has emerged, he and other officials of the Carter administration, defeated in the presidential elections, met with some Polish "political scientists" and "national economists" recently. In connection with granting a loan to Poland Brzezinski stressed, as one of several conditions, that Poland join the IMF, a matter that would practically mean factual U.S. control over the entire Polish economy.

Thus, imperialism continues vis-a-vis the socialist countries not only political and ideological, but also economic diversion.

BREZHNEV PERSIAN GULF PROPOSAL, U.S. REPLY VIEWED

LD131850 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1930 GMT 13 Dec 80

["Commentary of the Week" by Prague Radio's news analyst Stefan Babiak]

[Text] The task of bringing about a turn from confrontation to dialogue, from escalated conflicts to settlement, is not simple but [word indistinct], said Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev during his visit to India. The truthfulness of this fact is corroborated by current world developments.

The past week, for instance, saw the decision on the new U.S. military budget which in the next fiscal year is to exceed $160 billion limit, while in Brussels American Defense Secretary Harold Brown called his West European partners to task over the question of NATO states' annual increases of military spending by 3 percent in real terms.

At the Madrid meeting the American delegation has done nothing to change its destructive approach and in the Vienna Hofburg Palace no progress has achieved at the 257th round of the Vienna force reduction talks.

Quite naturally all this does not make the strained international situation any easier or, to put it more precisely, it is a result of the continuing arms race, unceasing actions directed against relaxation and hegemonist hazards which have been elevated to state policy.

At their meeting in Moscow a week ago the leaders of the socialist countries also called for leaving the road of confrontation and setting out on the road of dialogue, accompanying their words with the determination to contribute towards an improvement of the international climate, the consolidation of peace, the continuation of detente and the development of international cooperation.

In India Leonid Brezhnev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's sincere efforts towards these ends. His visit in India helped considerably to promote Indo-Soviet relations which constitute an example of mutually beneficial contact but also represent a major stabilizing factor in Asia. Indo-Soviet relations also serve as a model of contact between two countries with different social systems and their joint endeavors to promote peace, stability and security in the international sphere.

Of special significance is the Soviet Union's five-point program for securing peace and security in the Persian Gulf, contained in Leonid Brezhnev's speech to the Indian Parliament. The proposal has been addressed to the NATO member-states, Japan and China, and its implementation would have a far-reaching impact on future developments in this part of the world.

And while the Soviet leading representative was presenting his peace proposal the American Defense Secretary Brown was doing his utmost at the NATO Military Planning Committee to make his West European allies consent to provide military support for a United States intervention force anywhere in the world, but mainly in the Persian Gulf. This was followed by Washington's announcement that the United States has no intention of starting negotiations with the Soviet Union on the basis of Leonid Brezhnev's proposals. On top of that, the Atlantic week in Brussels confirmed that as regards detente and military relaxation the NATO pact plans no change of policy whatsoever.

The past week has demonstrated that to propose a dialogue is by no means simple but necessary; yet two sides are needed for a dialogue. The process of easing international tension and disarmament has no sensible alternative, and in this connection there can be no talk of confrontation. There is one single road leading to peace and the socialist countries have created enough space for anyone willing to go along with them.

HOFFMAN RETURNS FROM HUNGARIAN TU CONGRESS

LD150148 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2300 14 Dec 80

[Text] The delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions headed by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, returned yesterday [14 December], to Prague from the 24th Hungarian trade union congress.

Upon his arrival, Comrade Hoffmann assessed the work of the congress and stressed that its deliberations had expressed the unchangeable nature of principled internationalist stances and the endeavor to make a real contribution to the struggle of the trade union organizations of the nonsocialist countries for the interests and rights of the working people all over the world.

COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT OF NICARAGUA'S WHEELOCK

AU121033 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

[Joint CSSR-Nicaraguan communique published in Prague on 9 December at the close of a visit of a delegation of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan Government, headed by Jaime Wheelock Roman, minister of agricultural development]

[Text] At the invitation extended by the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government, an official friendly visit took place between 7-9 December 1980 by a delegation of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] and of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, led by Minister of Agricultural Development Jaime Wheelock Roman, commander of the revolution and member of the FSLN national leadership.

The Czechoslovak delegation was led by Milos Jakes, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

During its stay, the Nicaraguan delegation visited the historic village of Lidice and paid tribute to the memory of its inhabitants who fell victim to Nazi terror.

The member of the delegation also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and a bouquet at the Klement Gottwald mausoleum. In the course of their talks, the two delegations evaluated the mutual relations between the two countries and the expansion of cooperation based on the principles of equality, friendship, mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs.

The Nicaraguan side provided information about the development of the popular Sandinst revolution since its victory on 19 July 1979; in that sense the Czechoslovak side highly valued the results of the endeavors expended by the FSLN and the Government of National Reconstruction in the economic, political and social reconstruction of C. Sandino's fatherland. It stressed the great significance of the achieved unity of all patriotic revolutionary forces for the well-being of the fatherland. The CPCZ and the Czechoslovak Government resolutely condemned the intrigues of imperialism, which is trying to upset the revolutionary development in Nicaragua, and expressed full solidarity with the struggle of its people, particularly against intervention attempts from abroad.

The Czechoslovak side provided information about the work and life of the Czechoslovak people, about the fulfillment of tasks laid down by the 15th CPCZ Congress in the political and economic spheres, and about the development of initiatives connected with the 16th CPCZ Congress, convened for April 1981. It informed the Nicaraguan side about the CSSR's active share in endeavors aimed at eliminating international tension and deepening detente while also extending it into the military sphere. In that connection it stressed the importance which it attached to the current Madrid meeting.

The Nicaraguan side warmly valued the successes achieved by the Czechoslovak people under CPCZ leadership in satisfying the needs of the population, in constantly developing the economy and in ensuring an ever broader participation of the working people in the management and development of society as well as in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the nations of the world for democratic rights, independence and social progress. They underscored the just goals of that struggle on the American Continent and expressed admiration for the heroic Salvadoran people fighting for freedom against brutal regime. The two sides appeal to all peace-loving forces of the world to extend effective assistance to these heroic peoples.

They affirmed the right of nationsd to self-determanation and condemned imperialism which is openly threatening intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The two sides expresse full support for the justified demands of the people of Belize and Puerto Rico, fighting for complete independence, and for the Panamanian people in their endeavor to restore national sovereignty over the Panama Canal region.

The two sides expressed common determination to support endeavors aimed at achieving universal and complete disarmament, and resolutely oppose all attempts to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of additional states. They also voiced their support for the ratification of SALT II.

They voiced their appreciation of the endeavors of the nonaligned countries' movement against imperialism and colonialism and for the defense of the economic interests of suppressed nations and the struggle for their economic and political independence.

In conclusion, the two sides assessed the progress achieved in the development of mutual relations between the CPCZ and the FSLN and the governments of the two countries, and recommended to further expand economic cooperation, contacts and the exchange of delegations between social and youth organizations and cultural unions.

The two sides highly valued the results of their talks and voiced their satisfaction with the development up to now of mutual relations and affirmed that the documents signed in the course of the visit of the FSLN and the Republic of Nicaragua delegation to the CSSR in 1980 remain a solid basis for developing and deepening cooperation between the people of the two countries and are a valuable contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

DOBOS VIEWS PROGRESS OF NOMENKLATURA SURVEY

AU141608 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 80 p 2

[Ondrej Dobos article: "We Comment; Time of Cadres' Assessment"]

[Excerpts] This April, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium adopted a resolution on the comprehensive assessment of the nomenklatura cadres of party bodies in the 1980-81 period. Its aim is to evaluate participation of ranking personnel in implementing the 15th CPCZ Congress' program and the tasks of the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

First findings show that in every region different approaches were chosen. In the East Slovak region they assessed 19 of the 602 functionaries of the CPSL Central Committee nomenklatura by the end of October. This is not enough. A thorough and critical approach toward those assessed should not protract the discussion of the evaluation. As to observing the schedule, in the Humenne, Presov and Trebisov districts they should definitely step up their efforts; the district party bodies did not discuss a single evaluation by the planned date, a matter that could cause quite a few problems in mastering the task. In the Central Slovak regional organization 14.5 percent of the nomenklatura cadres at the CPSL regional committee level were interviewed and 31 percent at the CPSL district committee level. Here they do not hide the fact that some of the evaluations do not fulfill requirements and therefore they are, correctly, being returned to be reworked. The CPSL district committee of Dolny Kubin has returned 8 of them, Cadca 10 and Martin 4. The furthest in the discussion of the evaluations in this region are Zvolen and Banska Bystrica districts. The fewest results come from Prievidza, Rimavska Sobota and Dolny Kubin. But the Bratislava party organization held 298 of the planned 807 interviews with functionaries.

EAST BOHEMIAN PARTY COMMITTEE MEETING REPORTED

AU141607 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 80 p 1

[Correspondent "(SD)" report: "The East Bohemian Regional Party Committee Met; on the Work of Communists in Trade Unions"]

[Text] Hradec Kralove, 4 Dec—On Thursday, the East Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee devoted itself to the effectiveness of the ideoeducational and political-organizational work of trade union bodies and organizations in ensuring the state plan's tasks and in educating the working people. Vaclav Bezel, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and chairman of the Czech National Council, attended the deliberations.

The report of the Presidium of the CPCZ regional committee, delivered by committee member and chairman of the regional trade union council Miroslav Samek, emphasized that when it comes to fulfilling the conclusions of the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session and of the October session of the CPCZ regional committee, one must demand that communists in trade unions strengthen all trade union bodies' and organizations' influence on the working people in such a way that, together with the economic management, an awareness is created at all worksites of the unity between the intent of the party and the interests of society.

Many organizations are actively participating in the full use of people's initiative. For example, this is attested to by the collective of the Jan Sverma mine from the East Bohemian coal mines, which on 24 November already fulfilled the tasks of the 5-year plan; by the selflessness of workers and technicians of the CKD enterprises in Hradec Kralove and in Chocen; by the results of the Pochoden Brigade of Socialist Labor of Texlen Rtyne in the Krkonose region, led by Pevuse Jezkova, hero of socialist labor; by brigades and collectives of the Hedva Moravska Trebova, Paramo Pardubice, of the Drubezarska Zavody Jaromer and other enterprises.

The standard of work of the majority of trade unions has improved, but in spite of that the results do not correspond to the current needs. The report and discussion showed that it is necessary to overcome many anachronistic practices and abuses, administrative approaches, protectionist tendencies, formalism and hack work as well as other subjective shortcomings in enterprises, which the trade unions do not combat effectively enough and often only take note of.

Therefore the primary task is to achieve a more marked turnabout in the methods and style of work, and a more comprehensive approach toward the solution of vitally important issues, such as the share of work collectives in the solution of production-economic tasks.

There are 580,000 trade unionists in the East Bohemian Region--that is an immense force, which must be prepared however for the solution of new tasks concerning the whole society, motivated by the "Set of Measures." In the period of preparations for the 16th party congress this is also the task of trade unions, which must evaluate the effectiveness of their work not according to the number of actions, but according to the results of work, and according to the people's attitude toward all-social interests.

SOCIALIST PARTY HOLDS PLENUM ON ECONOMIC TASKS

AU112044 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 80 p 2

[CTK report: "Taking an Active Part in Social Development--Session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party"]

[Summary] Prague, 4 Dec (CTK)--A session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSP], held in Prague on Thursday, revealed that CSP members want to contribute through active work to the comprehensive development of our society.

The session discussed the party's tasks connected with developing our economy in the forthcoming period and the course of CSP annual membership meetings.

"The report of the CSP Central Committee Presidium, delivered by CSP Deputy Chairman Karel Lobl, especially stressed the importance of the conclusions of the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session in fulfilling tasks in the economic sphere. Their consistent implementation has also become binding for CSP members, who have received them with general interest and recognition." The CSP considers it essential to aid in the forthcoming period in clarifying the principles of the "Set of Measures" and in applying it in the plans for 1981.

"The initiative of CSP members will continue to be manifested in implementing the election programs of the National Front, and in the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress and elections to representative assemblies."

In assessing the current CSP annual membership meetings the session noted that special attention is being devoted, apart from evaluating CSP's work, to economic issues.

LENART ADDRESSES BRATISLAVA CITY PARTY MEETING

LD120930 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 80

[Text] The city CPSL committee of Bratislava discussed today the topical tasks of the city party organization in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. It was noted at the meeting that communists in enterprises, factories and institutions are critically reviewing at the present time the fulfillment of tasks in the last 5 years, are analyzing problems and shortcomings and determining the course for a successful start or the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The meeting appreciated the development of political activities and initiatives of working people and youth in honour of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, also spoke in the discussion. He analyzed the issue of raising effectiveness of production, stressing the need for a change in the thinking and attitudes of people.

BRIEFS

MONGOLIAN DELEGATION DEPARTS--The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, led by Deputy Premier Choynoryn Suren, departed from Prague on 8 December after concluding its visit. It was seen off by CSSR Deputy Premier Josef Simon and other officials. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 80 p 1 AU]

HONECKER: 'POLAND CAN RELY ON FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY'

LD111720 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1515 GMT 11 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec (ADN)--The secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, on Thursday informed the chairman of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR about the results of the meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states in Moscow on 5 December.

The meeting was attended by the chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany, Ernst Goldenbaum; the chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, Gerald Goettinger; the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, Dr Manfred Gerlach; the chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany, Prof Dr Heinrich Homann; and the President of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, Prof Dr Erich Correns.

Erich Honecker stressed that the Moscow meeting had once again shown how responsibly the Warsaw Pact states approach questions of international affairs, especially the struggle for safeguarding peace. The course of events has confirmed the correctness of the assessment and the topicality of the proposals put forward at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in May 1980. These proposals are exercising a positive influence on the processes taking place in Europe and in other regions of the world because they correspond to the vital interests of all peoples.

The socialist countries rallied round the USSR will continue to contribute to the normalization of the international climate, to the consolidation of peace, to the continuation of the policy of detente, to the development of international cooperation, to the solution of all conflicts through negotiations. It cannot be overlooked that on the international state negative tendencies are now more clearly apparent than hitherto.

The situation calls for increased vigilance toward the aggressive endeavors of the imperialist forces and the attempts on the past of reaction to harm the position of the socialist states, of the developing countries and of the national liberation movements. Only by the united effort of all states and peoples interested in peace, security and international cooperation can detente be assured as the determining trend in international developments.

The Moscow meeting has shown once again that socialism and peace belong together. The greater the strength of socialism the better it is for the cause of peace, for the cause of the peoples, and the fewer are the chances of the imperialist enemies of socialism and peace. The states of the socialist community are doing everything in their power to consolidate and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the fraternal alliance on the basis of Marxism and Leninism and international solidarity, of equal mutually advantageous cooperation.

Erich Honecker reported that the representatives of the PZPR gave an account of the development of the situation in Poland and the results of the seventh plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the PZPR. The participants at the meeting are convinced that the communists, the working class, the working people of fraternal Poland will be able to overcome the difficulties which have arisen and safeguard the country's continued development along the socialist path. Despite all attempts of the counterrevolution, Poland is and remains socialist.

The Polish Peoples Republic, the PZPR and the Polish people can count firmly on the fraternal solidarity of the GDR and the other Warsaw Pact states.

At the meeting an exchange of views on the further preparations for the 10th SED Congress took place. The report of the Politburo to the 13th meeting of the SED Central Committee noted that thanks to the unanimous action of the GDR people during the weeks and months preceding the 10th congress unsurpassed achievements have been accomplished for the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

All parties and mass organizations united in the National Front are playing an outstanding part in the greatest mass movement of the people so far.

Erich Honecker thanked the chairmen of the friendly parties for the proposals they conveyed to him in person. He described them as significant contributions for dealing with those questions which will be discussed at the 10th congress. They were passed on for evaluation to the commissions of the SED Central Committee charged with drawing up the documents for the 10th party congress.

The chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR thanked Erich Honecker for the briefing and the great appreciations of their work.

They endorsed with complete unanimity what he had said and the statement of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee on the Moscow meeting. They gave an assurance that the members of their parties and the citizens in the National Front committees will continue to achieve a high output in honor of the 10th SED Congress so as to contribute to the all-round strengthening of the socialist fatherland and the struggle for peace.

They affirmed that the aims and ways of peace, detente and disarmament contained in the Moscow declaration of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states are the common concern of all GDR citizens.

The meeting was attended by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; and Waldemar Pilz, departmental head in the SED Central Committee.

MUSKIE'S REACTION TO BREZHNEV'S GULF PLAN SCORED

DW121230 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1106 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Mattias Ehrlch commentary]

[Text] Clear and open words were uttered in New Delhi, demands whose topical nature and urgency need not be justified, what with the tensions in the Gulf region: no military bases, no stockpiling of nuclear weapons, no use of, or threat of force, no interference in the internal affairs of these countries, respect for their nonalignment and their sovereign right to their natural resources, and finally guarantee for free shipping in the area around the Gulf.

These proposals are so logical and so consistent that it should really be hard to find genuine arguments against them. Thus, various Western media and politicians arrive at the conclusion that the Soviet proposals must indeed be thoroughly examined before final statements can be made. The British GUARDIAN, for example, writes that an accord about the doctrine of peace and security for the Gulf and its shipping routes is perhaps an idea worth close scrutiny. And a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry states that although Japan has as yet not received any elucidations concerning the ideas on which this proposal are based, it will not reject it right away.

How very divergent from this does the attitude of the United States appear! If we hear what Secretary of State Muskie said about the Soviet peace plan we cannot but simply gain the impression that the stance on the issue had been established from the outset. Muskie said verbatim: An approval would be tantamount to letting the wolf into the sheep fold. Brezhnev's plan boils down to the United States leaving the Gulf region. In other words, Brezhnev eliminates the Navy.

The chief of the State Department not only dismisses the peace plan with a gesture, he also tries simultaneously to turn the tables. The nonexistent Soviet threat once again must serve as the argument for justifying the presence of the United States. In the meantime, an armada of far more than 30 warships which does not fly the red flag with hammer and sickle, but the U.S. star-spangled banner is cruising in the Gulf region.

It was not Soviet but American rapid deployment troops that exercised aggression in the Egyptian sands. It was not Moscow but Washington who threatened to mine the Hormuz Strait and, if necessary, to set the oil wells aflame.

The danger in this region results solely from the fact that the United States behaves as though it owned this region, as though the region were a state of the Union and the Persian Gulf an inland sea of the United States. The proposals of Leonid Brezhnev have shown the way toward security and stability in this endangered region. Their implementation, however, requires the commonsense and the good will of both sides.

CORRESPONDENT CRITICIZES U.S. PRESSURE ON NATO

DW121146 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1432 GMT 11 Dec 80

[Albert Reisz commentary]

[Text] What NATO had to say was actually said last night: It will continue its arms program, the long-term program adopted by NATO in May 1978 in Washington. That has the result of the meeting of the NATO defense ministers, with the exception of France, which does not belong to the military organization but only to the political alliance.

Today and tomorrow the foreign ministers will meet. It can be predicted that nothing substantially new will come from the meeting of foreign ministers. No miracles happen here. One can only be surprised at their bold irresponsibility in playing with Europe's security.

The result is reflected by the ominous 3 percent finance [word indistinct]. The 3 percent dates back to the NATO decision of 1978. The member states committed themselves in Washington to increase their military expenditures by 3 percent after being stripped of inflation. This is an enormous amount, dear listeners, it may just have been too much for some states.

But there are also others who have made secret expenditures, so to speak, beforehand, such as the FRG, which claims now that it holds second position in NATO with regard to per capita armament expenditures.

Yet the 3-percent quarrel was or rather is not shadow boxing. That could be clarly gathered from the statement of the outgoing U.S. secretary of defense, Harold Brown, who said yesterday (?spontaneously) that he has no understanding for parliaments which do not want to pay 3 percent for armament, but which want to discuss social programs instead.

This opens, up by the way, an interesting insight into the mentality of leading American politicians. They disucss and decide coldbloodedly on murderous guideline programs, spending billions on them--not their own money and not the money of arms trusts who make billions in arms profits. This plays a big role, however, when it comes to social policy, health insurance and unemployment insurance for about 20 million unemployed in the NATO sphere. But American politicans have no understanding for that. We should bear that in mind should the gentlemen tell us something about human rights again.

That is one thing, dear listeners. The other thing is the approach to the 3 percent demanded by the Americans, the approach to the strategy demanded by the Americans. This is what the United States is mainly interested in. Brown was even prepared to consider to 3 percent as an aim.

I do not want to go into detals. The strategy of the United States is mainly aimed at the destruction of the military balance, that is, the reestablishment of an imperialist military superiority. It further means a policy of pressure and blackmail vis-a-vis the socialist countries.

It is another chapter, however, whether such a policy has a chance. It has no chance. But it means for the partners of the United States a curtailment of their own political and economic leeway. If somebody says that small NATO countries [words indistinct] by agreeing to such a line, one should not contradict him. And if somebody says that considerations of detente and understanding have not played a role here, he is also right.

COMMENTARY VIEWS NEW U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS

DW121231 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1109 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Guenter Miessler commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] Western news agencies reported this morning that U.S. research experts were working on a new generation of nuclear arms, the development of which will soon be concluded. The respective authorities term the new nuclear mass destruction means a "gentle atom bomb." Some remarks about it by Guenter Meissler:

Those believing that the invention of the neutron bomb was the height of cynicism have been wrong. Remember, the United States offered the neutron bomb to the world claiming that it was extraordinarly humane. It was said that the bomb had been constructed to kill only soldiers, sparing innocent civilians.

The intention hidden behind this senseless but dangerous propaganda was simple to see through. One wanted to absorb the resistance of the international public against the new mass destruction means, or at least tone it down. But the intentional lies were quickly disproved.

The opinion of Lord (Felson), a British politician and expert in this field, is quoted with regard to the neutron bomb. All who are within sight of the explosion, naturally also civilians, he said, will be hit by radiation, without any differentiation. Many of them die weeks or months later, or they may suffer from radiation disease for years. Numerous children will be born either crippled or incurably ill. This is what Lord (Felson) said at that time, and that is the effect of the then newly developed neutron bomb.

Now the United States has again thought of something new. And again one seems to obviously follow the same line, to deceive the public and to suggest that it has chances to survive. This time the murderous tool is called from the very beginning the "gentle atom bomb."

What does it do? It kills or contaminates not through neutrons, but through gamma radiation. It does it allegedly with some delay, so the populace has time to flee or dig in. The enemy, however, will be immediately put out of action.

One does not say how the enemy will be out of action immediately and the populace later. It remains the secret of the inventors of the new variant of the attempt to fool the public.

But it will hardly be achieved this time either. The intention is too blunt. It was probably not a coincidence that the report on the "gentle atom bomb" burst exactly into NATO's winter meeting in Brussels, where everything was done to make the populace of the West European countries accept limited nuclear warfare, imbedded in the new American nuclear strategy, and thus simultaneously the stationing of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The gentle coordination is too obvious. The new attempt of the United States to fool the people should therefore cause the opposite of the intended. It is likely to strengthen even more the growing resistance against the threat with the nuclear catastrophe.

FRG WARNED AGAINST THREATENING RELATIONS

LD121220 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1127 GMT 12 Dec 80

["Bonn Advocates a Policy of Threats and Boycotts"]

[Text] Berlin, 12 Dec (ADN)--Only a few days have passed since FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said with high-sounding words in his government declaration that Bonn wants to pursue the policy of detente further. However, yesterday the FRG Government agreed through its foreign minister to a NATO concept aimed at having an extreme effect on the situation in Europe through the policy of confrontation pursued by the United States with full strength. It can be discerned from the Federal German press that FRG Foreign Minister Genscher has adopted in this a particularly hard position. With bare-faced imperialist arrogance toward the socialist states, their sovereignty and security, Bonn advocates an inflammatory policy of threats, pressure, interference and blackmail. As if no treaties existed, the breaking off of negotiations, the breaking off of relations and the breaking off of contacts is threatened.

It is obvious that one now wants to change from the policy of cancellation during the past weeks to a policy of breaking off. He who believes that he can extend the greater German doctrine which is in violation of international law to a NATO expansion in an easterly direction would bury detente in Europe and provoke consequences which would rebound on its author. It goes without saying that everything, but everything would be placed at risk which in the past years has been achieved with a constructive policy in the interests of peace, of the cooperation between the GDR and the FRG, for the benefit of the people, last but not least in the FRG. Is that what is wanted in Bonn? In the relations between the FRG and the GDR, the FRG and the Polish people's Republic, the FRG and the CSSR, the FRG and the USSR and with the other socialist fraternal states does one want to go over from detente to confrontation? One can only warn with full seriousness against steps which would destroy the bases for agreed normal relations. It is still time to come to one's senses. It is still possible to keep the door open to commonsense.

SRI LANKA FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES IN BERLIN

LD131446 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0849 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 13 Dec, (ADN)--Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed arrived this morning in Berlin for an official visit to the GDR. He was invited by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

The visitor was welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport, which was decorated with the flags of the two countries, by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer.

SED'S MITTAG MEETS WITH VISITING RCP DELEGATION

AU132110 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received on Friday a delegation of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee led by Stefan Croitoru, deputy chairman of the Central Council for Workers Control of Economic and Social Activities, which had acquainted itself with the SED's experiences in safeguarding scientific-technical progress in the field of machine-building.

Guenter Mittag briefed the Romanian guests about the SED's work in preparing for the 10th SED Congress. He explained the broad initiative movement of the GDR working people in socialist competition that results in high achievements in the national economy and strengthens socialism. At the same time, he valued the results in further development of the multifaceted cooperation between the two fraternal parties and states, which received new incentives through the visit of the party-state delegation under the leadership of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the Socialist Republic of Romania this June.

Participating in the friendly exchange of views were Gerhard Tautenhahn, head of the Central Committee department for machine-building, and Gheorghe Tache, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR.

PLANNING CHIEF MEETS WITH TANZANIAN MINISTER

AU132253 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 80 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--"Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, received on Monday Kighoma Malima, member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania [CCM], chairman of the CCM Commission for Economic Development and minister of planning and economy of the United Republic of Tanzania, for friendly talks."

Gerhard Schuerer stressed the GDR's support for the national liberation movements on the African Continent, and Kighoma Malima appreciated the GDR's anti-imperialist attitude and its untiring activity for peace and cooperation among peoples. Subsequently, Gerhard Schuerer gave an account of the basic problems and results of socialist management and planning of the national economy in the GDR, and in this context stressed the multifaceted initiatives of the GDR working people in preparation for the 10th SED Congress.

The Tanzanian minister described the great efforts undertaken in his country to overcome the colonial heritage and to advance economic development. "The two sides voiced their conviction that good prerequisites exist for developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the United Republic of Tanzania." Malima valued the exchange of experiences as an important impulse for the development of planning in Tanzania, and expressed thanks for being able to conduct further talks about this topic in GDR state and economic organs, combines and enterprises. "The meeting took place in an openminded and cordial atmosphere."

BERLIN UNITS COOPERATE IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

AU141524 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 11 Dec 80 p 2

[ADN-BZ report: "Joint Tasks in National Defense: Close Cooperation in Military Policy"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN-BZ)--The bezirk executives of the FDGB and of the Society for Sports and Technology [GST], the Berlin Military District Command and the Civil Defense staff of the GDR capital will cooperate even more closely on military policy in the future.

This results from an agreement signed yesterday in conclusion of an exchange of experiences among trade union and state officials, chiefs of the Military District Command as well as GST and Civil Defense members. Erich Roeder, deputy FDGB Bezirk chairman, stressed that thus far three-fourths of all the collectives competing for the state title have assumed accountable pledges.

Military instruction in the collectives, vocational training institutions and school trade union branches will be further intensified because of the new agreement.

REPORTAGE ON TRADE UNIONS 24TH CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Radio Report of Speeches

LD121818 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] [Announcer] And now listen to our report on the morning events of the 24th Congress of Trade Unions. Julia Tardos and Akos Mester report from the spot:

[Mester] The congress was opened at 0900 by Aladar Foldvari, president of SZOT [National Trade Union Council], who greeted the Hungarian party and state leaders present at the congress, among them Janos Kadas, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Also present at the congress are Ibrahim Zakariyah, acting general secretary of the WFTU; Aleksey Shibayev, chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions; Karelv Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak trade union movement; Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Polish Consultative Commission of Industrial Unions [title as received] and 29 other foreign delegations.

[Tardos] At what level and with what degree of efficiency has the trade union worked? Has it satisfied the ever increasing role it plays in society. Is it able to represent the membership's interests, strivings? These are the questions answered by SZOT general secretary Sandor Gaspar's report which stressed that the trade union movement is a participant in authority. It is not only an assistant in the execution of policy but it also takes part in its sharing and formation.

[Mester] Sandor Gaspar spoke in detail about the relations between party and trade unions and between the government and trade union leaders, stressing that in Hungary the trade union movement carries out its own work self-reliantly but not independently. The policy of building a socialist society is also our policy and to it the Hungarian trade union movement is committed. We replay a tape of this part of the report:

[Begin Gaspar recording] Esteemed comrades, understanding the success of trade union independence requires that we denote more exactly than before the basic content of sociopolitical commitment. The essence of this is our relationship to and affirmation of the socialist social system. With our entire activity we strengthen and support the power of the working classes. Society's objectives are not a matter of indifference to us. We consider them to be our own. However, for this we must better understand the trade unions' role in the shaping and execution of the main tasks. We must not limit our own attention and that of our membership to execution alone. We must better understand and express the essential claims and intentions registered by our members in connection with the building and development of the socialist society. It is on this basis that the day-to-day tasks which arise from the realization of the main tasks have to be defined, and the steps connected with execution worked out.

In these day-to-day issues of building socialism the trade unions must preserve their freedom of opinion and action. This has to be asserted in the practical work of the trade unions. The trade unions must take a stand with political courage, but responsibly, on the issues falling within their jurisdiction. Anxious self-control, uncertainty, elusive opinions still occur today in the stands taken by the trade unions. At such times their independent aspect becomes blurred and they do not fulfill their tasks.

In a socialist society the trade unions, by being participants in power, have by no means been transformed into state organs. The socialist state and the trade unions are united by a fundamental identity of objectives, but their practical functions are different. The socialist state does not control the activity of the trade unions; on the other hand the activity of the state is under the control of the masses.

The trade unions also take part in this social control. State and trade union organs are, on every level, partners of equal rank. There is no relationahip of sub-and superordination between them. Their task is to work together for the joint objective and to help each other in their work. [end recording]

[Tardos] The next part of the general secretary's report dealt with the standard of living, living conditions and our economic tasks. The starting point was that, as long as we are unable to show significant results in management effectiveness, there is no possibility for a fast development of the standard of living. For this reason our chief task today is to preserve the attained standard of living. This, and the improvement of living conditions, demand hard and consistent work from all of us. Here Sandor Gaspar mentioned that the trade unions have taken part in preparing the Sixth 5-Year-Plan, and they consider the standard of living measures outlined in the plan as realistic and just. At the same time there are today more justified claims that can be met. There are wage, income and social tensions which, as soon as circumstances allow, we will resolve. Until then, however, we must establish an order of precedence, both nationally and at plant level, so that we may help those for whom it is now most important.

[Mester] After this Sandor Gaspar spoke about prices and the fact that we have to recognize that they cannot remain static. This, however, creates a problem, namely that the price rises affect certain working strata, families and individuals more severely than the average. For this very reason price control activity must be further tigntened. On the other hand we must strive for a more long-term delineation of how we want to ensure a better harmony of consumption, housing allocation, culture, leisure activity--that is to say of material and spiritual goods--on the basis of work done and of social welfare.

[Tardos] In the next part of his speech Sandor Gaspar, general secretary, spoke about the trade unions' inner movement life, and at the end of his report he said that the Hungarian trade unions, following their principles and most beautiful traditions, take part in the international trade union movement.

[Mester] Following Sandor Gaspar's introduction, the first to speak in the debate was (Geza Tokodi) chief deputy of the workers of the Lenin metallurgical plant. Then Istvan Meszaros, leader of the [name indistinct] brigade of the Oroszlany coal mine, drew attention to the fact that we must preserve the achievements we have so far attained with honest and decent work.

[Tasdos] The next to speak was Janos Vas, general secretary of the Commerce, Financial and Catering Workers' Trade Union. He dealt in particular with our standard of living policy. To preserve the standard of living requires people to draw conclusions from the experiences of everyday practical life: from the development of prices and incomes, the development of the standard of goods supply, what the choice of goods is like, what the quality of goods is, and whether service is of a high standard.

[Mester] Not long before our report Ibrahim Zakariyah, acting general secretary of the WFTU, asked leave to speak. He stressed that the experiences of the European trade union conferences, bilateral relations, East-West trade union dialogues, give cause for optimism. The world trade union conference dealing with development, which was held at the beginning of this year in Belgrade, adopted a common platform on the basis of total agreement between the trade union center of the developing countries and the trade union center of the developed capitalist and socialist countries.

[Tardos] At this time Attila Szabo, secretary of the trade union committee of the Tisza shoe factory, is standing before the speaker's microphone and speaking first of all about the increased role of the stewards. He is in fact the delegate of the Leather Industry Workers Union.

More on Speeches

LD121903 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Laszlo Krasso report from the scene of Hungary's 24th trade union congress at the Builders' headquarters in Budapest; live]

[Excerpts] Let us recall some of the thoughts of the SZOT [National Trade Union Council] general secretary, in particular that part of his speech in which he dealt with the activity of representing interests and protecting interests. The trade unions help to achieve the general social objective with the progressive solution of the conflict of different interests. The interests of society itself will not be absolutely asserted either, if we are unable to link it with group and class interests, because no social interests can exist that are completely independent of these. We must strive for the expression of individual and class interests in the democratic forums, and their solution in harmony with the social interest. All this, naturally, cannot occur without debates. However, the practice of keeping quiet about the problems that occupy public opinion--problems which it may or may not know well-- because, for one reason or another, they are felt to be unpleasant, reflects a fundamental error. Social tensions exist even if we do not talk about them, said Sandor Gaspar when he spoke about democratism and the importance of discussing political issues before the public.

(Maria Kovacsik), trade union steward of the Heves County construction industry enterprise, said that the economic leadership and the trade union steward must be partners in order that trade union work be free from bureaucracy.

Attila Szabo, delegate of the Tisza shoe factory, spoke about social problems, mainly health problems and their solution. Similarly Zoltan Szucs, MAV [Hungarian State Railways] director general, started his speech with the social issues of the railways. Just one datum from the list he gave us: In the immediately preceding period they assisted more than (?2,500) railway workers in solving the housing problem.

Just before I came on the air Aleksey Shibayev, chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, rose to speak. He is speaking now. Up till now he has said that the 26th Congress of the CPSU will open on 23 February 1981. This will draw up the economic, social and political achievements of the work done during the current five year period and will lay down the strategy and tactics of the Soviet people's struggle in the new phase of building communism. The congress preparations at present make up the main content of the entire practical activity of the Soviet trade unions. This includes the provisions for the development of the national economy, the boosting of production, the rights and interests of the workers, and their working and living conditions, said Shibayev, chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

Comment on 5-Day Work Week

LD121900 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] The 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions has continued its work in Budapest with the debate. Ferenc Trethon, minister of labor, spoke about the tasks connected with the introduction of the 5-day working week. This system of work is to be introduced in January 1982. The minister stressed that neither the output of enterprises nor the income of workers will be allowed to decrease as a consequence of the 5-day work week and for this reason it must be ensured that workers utilize the shorter time available in the best possible way. Economic organizations must move to the new system of work on the basis of their own resources. A systematic exploitation of resources is very important because that is the only way in which uninterrupted deliveries and the present standard of services can be assured.

The introduction of the 5-day working week will improve living conditions in our country, Peresc Trethon noted at the trade union congress.

Jakab on Proposals

LD141634 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Karoly Kovalik report on 3 December proceedings at the 24th Hungarian congress of trade unions in Budapest]

[Text] In the fourth section, in working group number four, Sandor Jakab, deputy secretary general of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] is making his introductory speech. There are 219 people in the hall and it is very interesting that 36 have put down their names as speakers in the debate, but more may wish to speak. Sandor Jakab, in his introductory speech referred to the fact that in the period preceding the congress, at the factory and branch congresses, about 600 proposals and suggestions were put forward which reached SZOT. He quoted some of these recommendations. For example: The economic leader should not be able to pass any other decision than what he has agreed to with the shop stewards' committee; the shop stewards' committee should be allowed to give its opinion on the manpower management plans and to this end it is necessary that these plans should be long term ones; positions of leadership should be filled only after competitive selection; the trade unions have the right of proposal regarding measures on material and moral appreciation of leaders and have a say in the eventual disciplinary action against leaders; and the trade unions' opinion should be sought regarding the appointment and dismissal of leaders.

There is a law today which ensures that the trade union should give its opinion regarding the approval of plans and there is a new proposal that trade unions should also have a say in the modification of plans. He also said that there are many impediments to the development of trade union and factory democracy. At many places the suitability of shop stewards and workers for the practice of democracy is being questioned, although this appears anachronistic and ridiculous, and this referring to economic difficulties is a way of impeding the development of democracy. There was also an interesting suggestion and proposal, namely that the election of shop stewards should be simplified and that the shop stewards should be elected by secret ballot.

About 2 hours have now passed since the introductory speech and now Sandor Gondor, secretary of the 13th district's property management enterprise is speaking. He will be followed by Imre Buku, a miner, secretary of the Borsod coal mines trade union.

Summary of Four Working Sections

LD141610 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Report by Akos Mester and Julia Tardos on 13 December proceedings at 24th Hungarian congress of trade unions in Budapest and on speech by Mrs Lajos Duschek, secretary of the National Trade Union Council]

[Text] [Mester] This afternoon the congress continued its work in four sectional meetings. Laszlo Gal, deputy secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, summarized the recommendations which had arrived from the vocational congresses and the large enterprises. A few examples: The speaker agreed with the criticism of the system of management; after all, as he said, decisions are often made too slowly because of the numerous changes. There must not be too frequent changes in the economic regulators. Rational risk taking, based on longterm enterprise strategies, must be acknowledged, together with the willingness to take initiatives. The present system of regulations is too rigid and encourages short-term enterprise politicking.

Work is going on in the further development of the work emulation and brigade movements. Support is given to the recommendations concerning the finding of new sources for the payment of rewards for innovations, other than the present participation fund. The bureaucratism characterizing the dealings with innovations should be reduced.

A number of disproportions in wages was also discussed. There should be action taken to overcome these. There had been a number of recommendations put forward in this respect. However, the possibilities are limited; consequently, progress can only be made gradually. Similarly, there is no room for raising the daily allowances because the money for this would have to be taken from things which are more important. On the other hand, consideration is being given to the perfecting of payments in accordance with performance. The membership demands a long-term trade union wages policy and this must be formulated.

The deputy secretary general of the National Trade Union Council said in connection with the 5-day week that the realization of the preconditions for this must be thought out in the course of a thorough social debate, thus finding the best solution.

After the introduction outlining the recommendations, the debate commenced. Fifty people asked to speak.

The task of the second section was to develop a uniform view of the trade unions concerning the further development of social provisions and the improvements to be made in the social circumstances, on the basis of the recommendations put forward at the members' meetings and delegates' meetings and the recommendations approved by the branch congresses.

In her introduction, Mrs Lajos Duschek, secretary of the National Trade Union Council, stated that the membership demanded that even greater attention should be paid to safe and healthy conditions at work and home, as well as to families with many children, the handicapped and the aged. She mentioned in the first place, among the tasks, the raising of low pensions. However, she spoke not only about the pensions.

[Begin Duschek recording] Pensions cannot be the only means of looking after old people. Overcoming the feeling of abandonment and self-maintenance beyond a certain age are not merely matters of [word indistinct]. Consequently, the trade unions urge the development of a complex system of institutionalized social care for old people. We regard it as necessary to accelerate the construction of a network of social homes and the further development of the day centers for old people, which has evolved well.

It is necessary to speed up wide-ranging solution regarding their cultural needs and the provision of meals for them. We must strengthen the activity of pensioners in public life, naturally securing the necessary forums, both at the previous place of employment and the place of residence. [end recording]

[Mester] It is the position of the trade union movement that family allowances must be raised in the coming years for the whole range of those entitled to them, in a way so that the real value of the family allowances paid to those with three or more children, in particular, should maintain their value. The branch congresses urged a wider social cooperation in the interest of accelerating the building of day nurseries. However, as Mrs Lajos Duschek said, the justified demands for day nurseries can be met only in the long run.

From the standpoint of the trade unions, the conditions for the social rehabilitation of the handicapped must be improved. They find it necessary, therefore, to work out urgently a modern, complex law relating to occupation and rehabilitation.

As regards the questions of housing, the aim must be that the increase in the burdens of maintaining a home should be in line with the development of incomes.

The trade unions continue to count on the enterprises providing support for the construction of dwellings. It is their view that those most in need should be given priority.

Speaking on the provision of holidays, Mrs Lajos Duschek said that although the membership would wish for a more rapid rate of development, under the present economic circumstances there is no possibility for this. The aim is to improve quality, accompanied by a moderate rate of development. It is planned to organize partnerships, involving the cooperation of enterprises, for the modernization of outdated holiday homes. This could solve the problem, which was mentioned by several people in the debates, that the sums which the enterprises can devote for holiday purposes are often not utlized because they have to be divided into very small parts.

[Tardos] Gyula Virizlay, secretary of the National Trade Union Council, chaired the third section of the congress, which discussed the experiences in educational and cultural work and the increased requirements in this sphere. Human values must be strengthened. The socialist work competition movement has a great potential in developing people, in which the individual cannot get lost stressed Gyula Virizlay, as well as several other speakers in the session. The factory collectives and socialist brigades play a decisive role in this. Production work, democracy and education are combined tasks at every place of work and the trade union steward is the director and helper of this man-shaping work in the small communities. Frequently, institutions are too beautiful and formal, providing merely reassuring statistics. However, reality is often poorer and greyer as regards adult education, the use made of factory libraries and actual cultural programs in the trade union cultural centers. The trade union movement must change this by determined and clever work.

The development of occupational and general education cannot be separated from work, better quality production and efficiency. It has also been said that materialism, work done merely for the sake of money, can for awhile satisfy individuals and collectives. However, a good atmosphere at the place of work, self-esteem and the respect of colleagues can only be the result of the combined achievements of work and vocational-educational accomplishments.

[Mester] The topic for the fourth section also raised the interest of the delegates. It dealt with the questions of organizational life. In the course of the debate, 30 people wanted to speak this afternoon. However, it is perhaps even more significant that during the branch congresses, 150-200 recommendations were put forward on this topic.

Party Officials Attending

LD142030 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Budapest, 14 Dec (MTI)--The 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions continued with a plenary session in Budapest on Sunday.

Attending the conference were Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions; Lajos Mehes, head of Ministery of Industry; members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee, and Janos Brutyo, chairman of the HSWP Central Control Committee.

Abraham: Construction Progress

LD142220 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 14 Dec (MTI)--At the Sunday closing session of the Hungarian trade union congress Kalman Abraham, minister of building and urban development, was among those who delivered contributions. He spoke of the tasks ahead of construction industry.

As he stated, construction and assembly works worth 738,000 million forints were completed in the past five years by the workers of the branch. The industrial branch is capable of meeting the increased demands, and the trade unions play a significant role in this.

One of the difficult tasks, he emphasized, is to keep the growth of construction costs within tolerable limits, furthermore to attend in an organized way to increasing the proportion of maintenance works and to do more for expanding export planning and construction. Several encouraging experiments aid the construction industry in solving these tasks. A school with four classrooms was completed in Budapest with modern elements in two months' time, and it cost 22 percent less than usual, because of the various simplifications. This is a significant success because 200 such schools have to be built in the next years.

Significant progress was made in the branch concerning the working and living conditions of workers. Construction workers and their families moved into some 15,000 flats, and the companies' home-building fund of 520 million forints offers further possibilities. They wish to invariably assure good conditions for the supply of the 85,000-90,000 workers living in workers' hostels, as well as to the transportation of some 75,000 construction workers. An important task, said the minister, is to attend to further improving the working and living conditions of the workers, in spite of the companies' more difficult situation. Simultaneously with the construction-technical developments, they have always found good partners in the trade union activists for this, and this will be the case in the future as well.

Gaspar Closing Speech Reported

LD141459 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Report by Akos Mester and Julia Tardos on 14 December proceedings at the congress of trade unions]

[Excerpts] [Mester] Right now there is a lunch break at the 24th congress of the trade unions. Proceedings started at 0830 and in the morning's debate the many-sided aspects of the trade union movement and the life, work and worries of workers in the various branches were described to the delegates. Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council is also attending the congress today.

[Tardos] At the sessions of the trade unions' congress there were a total of 52 speakers and about 100 hundred have, in addition, announced that they will hand in their observations in writing.

At 1045 Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT], stepped to the microphone and began his closing speech with the following words:

[Begin Gaspar recording] Esteemed congress, dear comrades, now as we are about to close the congress, I should like in a brief reply to deal with a few questions, give my appreciation for the debate and thanks for the contributions. I believe that, first of all, we can say that the contributions made at the plenary sessions of the congress and the contributions at the section meetings have all expanded our knowledge, have expanded it and this is a good thing, because thus rich with more and more important knowledge we can determine even more exactly and concretely the tasks facing us. During the preparatory work and here at the congress too the slogan which is the motto of our work has prevailed, that which stands displayed: Think Together and Act Together. I believe that here the work done together has been a success.

The observations voiced in the debate give a sense of security to the leadership for the continuation of their work along the lines that were discussed during thewhole of the congress regarding questions of major national importance, questions affecting entire professions, questions affecting industrial branches, and questions expressing group interests.

The debate has thus been varied and lively. Questions of various kinds were raised. It is also natural and understandable that more than one comrade speaker has criticized the weaknesses of the work of trade unions, the weaknesses of the work of the leading organs, and all this compells us to see to it that those whom the congress will shortly elect should act with even more circumspection.

The Hungarian trade union movement has not been hitherto free of worries but now, bearing in mind the demands that have been voiced here, I do not envy the leadership to be elected. I do not know whom the congress will elect but I, personally, do not envy them because during the coming years they will have their fill of tasks and work. I should like to draw attention to the fact--and this is in the direction of something I want to talk about in more detail later--that there is an essential difference here between this congress and the one held 5 years ago. Comrade delegates who in their seniority have attended both, and maybe even those who were not here before as well, will remember that 5 years ago we needed exactly 1 week to do the work which we have largely accomplished in 3 days. This is an indication of something and it is not only a matter of form. In the debate there were also signs we must take notice of and which will then have to be developed; in particular that step by step we learn and it becomes impregnated in our nervous system that under socialist conditions we must constantly strive that we should use time reasonably and rationally. [end Gaspar recording]

[Mester] Sandor Gaspar's summing up report which ended about 30 minutes before our broadcast was carried unanimously by the congress delegates.

[Tardos] At present, you may hear the noises in the background; there is a break in the proceedings. In the afternoon the leading organs will be elected at the congress of the trade unions. In our broadcasts we shall give detailed reports on the events of the congress and at 1830 on Kossuth Radio we shall bring a summary with actual recordings of today's proceedings at the congress. Now back to the studio.

Resolution: MSZMP 'Leading Force'

LD142236 Budapest MTI in English 1834 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 14 Dec (MTI)--A resolution was accepted at the 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions, which ended on Sunday in Budapest, which points out, among other things, that the leading force of society in Hungary is the HSWP. "Building socialist society is also the cause of the 4.5 million organized workers represented by the trade union movement. The twofold function of the trade unions originates from this: On the one hand they organize and train the workers for the protection, strengthening of workers' power, for increasing the political, economic and cultural strength of society. On the other hand they assist and control the meeting of material, social-welfare and cultural demands of the workers, safeguard their rights as provided by laws and decrees, represent their interests."

The congress stated that well-functioning working relations have developed between the state and trade union bodies, but the increasing tasks demand that these be further developed. Trade unions should take a more active part in the work of the National Assembly. Organized conditions have to be assured so that the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and the concerned branch trade unions be able to give an opinion before every decision made concerning the living conditions of the workers.

Concerning economic questions the resolution sets forth that the trade unions agree with the conceptions formulated in the guidelines of the 6th Hungarian Five-Year Plan. The main guidelines of economic policy should be to raise efficiency and competitiveness, to put forth intensive development based on qualitative factors. The socialist emulation movement has to be closely connected to the economic policy edeavors.

The resolution states that assertion and development of socialist democracy is one of the determining conditions of Hungarian society's progress. In connection with this the resolution points out that special attention has to be turned at the factories to the cooperation of trade union chief-stewards, stewards and work-place economic leaders, as well as the stewards' bodies, and the leaders of the companies and institutions. The trade union bodies have to accept even the possible debates arising from the conflict of interests.

The resolution points out: Hungarian public opinion understands that prices have to adjust to the demands of market and production. At the same time the trade unions do not consider it expedient neither economically, nor socially, nor politically, that a "competition" between prices and wages develop. Thus they expect from the state institutions that they enforce the strictest state discipline in price formation and price control, and to take exemplary steps against those who violate this or who obtain dishonorable profit.

The resolution points out that complete employment invariably has to be maintained in the country. This, however, cannot mean immobility in manpower management. Society does not guarantee workplaces which suit everyone's desires and wishes. Thus the further training and retraining of workers has to be organized in a greater degree.

The trade unions consider beginning switching over to the five-day work week to be necessary. Together with this, attention should be paid to strengthening labor disciplines, better exploitation of work-time, as well as to the workers spending their leisure time usefully.

The trade unions consider the system and standard of social-welfare benefits to be one of the greatest achievements of socialist life. The congress proposes that a long-range welfare-policy plan be drawn up and to hold preliminary social discussions concerning it.

The positive processes which have emerged in the past five years in trade union democracy should be expanded--according to the congress resolution--in a way that their social effect continues to strengthen. It has to be assured with even better information than so far, regular training, further training and continuous methodological assistance, that the trade unions stewards become the real, recognized leaders of their [word indistinct] guidance of Hungarian trade union movement is unified. It takes a stand for better informing the workers than so far on the discussions between the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and the government, the joint conferences of the branch trade unions and ministries, the county councils of trade unions, as well as the discussions of the leaders of the county councils, the talks between the company directors and trade union committees.

Dealing with international relations the resolutions calls on the trade unions to take an active part, true to their traditions in the fight of the world's workers for peace, social progress, better living and working conditons, for socialism. They should urge and promote the cooperation of trade unions of various tendencies, and the strengthening of its action unity. They should continue to consider as determining, the strengthening of close friendship and cooperation with the trade unions of socialist countries. They should make efforts so that these relations become more substantial. True to the internationalist traditions they should provide many-sided assistance to the trade unions of developing countries. They should enrich their relations with the trade unions of advanced capitalist countries, primarily in Europe. They should participate in the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the professional international federations with greater impetus, in an initiating way.

Closing, SZOT Members Elected

LD151056 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Delegates at the trade union congress have elected the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] members. Laszlo Krasso reports:

The 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions ended its work with a closing speech by Aladar Foldvari. A short time ago they elected the 211 members of the National Council, the Presidium and leading officers. Aladar Foldvari is the SZOT president and the vice presidents are Mrs Lajos Duscheki; Karoly Kiss; Laszlo Ligeti, Mrs Ferenc Orszag and Karoly Palotai. Sandor Gaspar was re-elected secretary general and the deputies are Sandor Jakab and Laszlo Gal. The secretaries of SZOT are Dr Judit Csehak; Ferenc Solyom; Jozsef Timmer and Gyula Virizlay.

The leaders were elected at the first constitutional session of the SZOT Auditing Committee. The chairman is Bela Biszku and the secretary is Jozsef Pandurovics. The other members of the presidium are: Comrade Mrs Karoly Balogh, Comrade Janos Brutyo, Comrade Mrs Dr (Matron Cservan), Comrade Mrs (Laszlo Csaki), Comrade Ferenc Dajka, Dr Ferenc Dobi, Dr Istvan Fuzi, Istvan Gyongyosi, Karoly Herczeg, Otto Juhasz, Ferenc Koszorus, Karoly Kovacs, Laszlo Kovacs, Janos Lux, Mrs Dr Istvan Martos, Gyula Moldovan, Ferenc Petrak, Dr Olga Prieszol, Tibor Simo, Jozsef Toth, Janos Vas, and Dr Jozsef Voksan. The members of the Secretariat are Comrades Sandor Gaspar, Laszlo Gal, Sandor Jakab, Dr Judit Csehak, Ferenc Solyom, Jozsef Timmer, Gyula Virizlay, Dr Ferenc (Szadi), and Pal Gedeon.

Pal Gedeon is to be the future chief editor of NEPSZAVA.

In his closing speech, Aladar Foldvari emphasized that the 24th congress had performed successful work and had reviewed the tasks of Hungarian trade unions for the forthcoming years responsibly and in accordance with the demands of our time.

The 24th congress of the trade unions ended with the Internationale.

Reception For New Officials

LD142330 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 2140 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Excerpts] The 24th Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions has ended its work.

As a concluding event to the congress, the Presidium of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] gave a reception in honor of the newly elected executive bodies and officials of the trade unions and in honor of the foreign guests at the National Assembly building this evening.

Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of SZOT, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Lajos Mehes, minister of industry, and Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the party Central Committee, all Politburo members, were present at the reception.

On behalf of the newly elected Presidium of SZOT, Sandor Gaspar greeted those present and expressed his thanks for the work done to make the congress a success.

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ATTEND, ADDRESS CONGRESS

LD142220 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 13 Dec (MTI)--Representatives of 29 trade unions of 28 countries and 6 international organizations are attending the 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions.

Invited by the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, the congress is being attended by a delegation of the Pancyprian Federation of Independent Trade Unions headed by President C. Antoniades, a delegation of the Pancyprian Federation of Labour headed by General Secretary Andreas Ziartides, a delegation of the Central Council of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of Czechoslovakia headed by President Karel Hoffmann, a delegation of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) headed by President Pekka Divio, a delegation of the General Confederation of Labour of France (CGT) headed by General Secretary Georges Seguy, a delegation of the Trade Union Anti-Dictatorship Front headed by President Orestis Khatzivassilio, a delegation of the Coordination Committee of Polish Trade Unions headed by President Albin Szyszka, a delegation of the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) headed by President Heinz Oskar Vetter, a delegation of Italy's CGIL-CISL-UIL headed by CGIL General Secretary Luciano Lama, a delegation of the Scottish Trade Unions Congress headed by President James Morrel, a delegation of the Confederation of Independent German Trade Unions headed by President Harry Tisch, and a delegation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions headed by President Aleksey Shibayev.

Also present at the congress are the representatives of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Democratic Confederation of Labour of France, the Greek United Trade Union Anti-Dictatorship Movement, the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, the Trade Union Confederation of Kampuchea, the Central Council of Korean United Trade Unions, the Workers' Centre of Cuba, the Laotian Confederation of Trade Unions, the General Workers' Union of Malta, the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions, the Austrian Trade Union Federation (OGB), the United Trade Union Centre of San Marino, the Spanish Trade Union Federation of Workers' Commissions, the Portuguese General Labour Federation-Intersyndical, the General Federation of Romanian Trade Unions, and the Vietnamese Federation of Trade Unions.

The delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions is headed by acting General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria.

The representatives of the World Confederation of Labour, the International Labour Office, the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions and the Permanent Congress of Latin American Trade Union Unity are also attending the 24th congress of Hungarian Trade Unions.

Polish Delegate Speech

LD131925 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 12 Dec (MTI)--Albin Szyszka, president of the Coordination Committee of Polish Trade Unions, said in his address to the congress: "We are aware that the Polish events, particularly the situation in the Polish trade union movement, have aroused great attention for some months. The nature of the developments is rather complex. We are passing through a deep political, economic and social crisis. The sources of the crisis are internationally known. The sixth and seventh plenary sessions of the Polish United Workers' Party assessed the causes of the crisis and pointed out that path leading out of it. We do not conceal that it is a difficult task, but it is our conviction--and there are indications to it in the life of the party, state, trade unions and other social organizations--that the working people with conscientious goals will be able to overcome every hardship and lead the country to the path of balanced socialist development.

"We are faced with a deep rift in our country's trade union movement. This is decidely an unfavourable phenomenon. Despite that, our professional trade unions standing on class bases are striving in the present situation to find the path of agreement and cooperation by overcoming the split and prejudices in every sector of the trade union movement. The interest of the working people is one and indivisible. We are for the consistent protection of the equlity and independence of all trade unions. In our view, the right to free choice should be ensured to every worker to decide on his trade union affiliation. We want that the solution of trade union questions and the future, real trade union unity be attained through a democratic road in conformity with the needs of the trade union membership and our trade unions," emphasized Albin Szyszka.

More on Polish Speech

LD131926 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Speech by Polish delegate Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Coordination Committee of industrial trade unions, in his address to the 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions in Budapest on 12 December--recorded in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] Our dear Hungarian friends, colleagues. Entrusted by the Coordination Committee of industrial trade unions, I express my cordial thanks to the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions for the invitation to the congress' consultation. Please accept, dear friends, our cordial greeting and good wishes. We wish you many more successes in your trade union activities. From a pure heart we wish you further achievements in the construction of your socialist country.

We observe with great interest the consultations of your congress. The results and the practical experiences, the theoretical richness of the Hungarian trade union movement will be of assistance to us in reconstructing in People's Poland a trade union movement that is strong, independent and rests on class bases.

Our trade union movement considers necessary deep-reaching changes in every sphere of life. We take part in the debates on economic reform, on trade union, workers' self-management and higher education laws.

In our opinion, responsible and patriotic trade union activists, regardless of what organization they represent, must retain a special sense of responsibility and loyalty. They must avoid unfounded and unrealizable demands. We could not agree in the past and we cannot agree today with voluntarism in economic life. However, this does not mean that anyone has the right to proclaim void or to cast doubt on the (?36) years' achievements of People's Poland.

Comrades, our stand with regard to the PZPR is clear. We recognize the party's leading role in the state and in society. At the same time we are of the opinion that the full and real independence of the trade union movement is the guarantee of socialist democracy.

Comrades, in our country we have to face a rift in the trade union movement. This is decidedly an unfavorable phenomenon. Despite this, our professional trade unions, which rest on class bases, are striving in the present situation to seek the path of agreement and cooperation, by overcoming the split and prejudices in every sector of the trade union movement. The interest of the working people is one and indivisible.

We want the solution of organizational issues and the real trade union unity of the future to be brought about through democratic channels in accordance wth the needs of the trade union membership and of the trade unions.

The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, which we treat, in view of the masses of the membership, as a real social movement of the working class, is not present at your congress among the representatives of Polish trade unions. We do not know their reason for showing no interest in our official proposal for unifying the representatives of the Polish trade union movement at your congress. We believe that with this an opportunity has been lost for cooperation in the interest of workers in our country and abroad.

In the course of solving the difficult internal problems, the Polish workers are aware of the international, political and economic conditions of the place they occupy in the world. A vital struggle is going on in the world with the forces of imperialism, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for peace and disarmament, against the violation of human and trade union rights. In this struggle we have always stood, and will stand also in the future, on the side of democracy and progress. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] I thank Comrade Albin Szyszka for his speech. Our congress sincerely wishes that the Polish trade unions, in putting their ranks in order will successfully serve the power of the workers, and promote the country's development and the thriving of the fraternal Polish people.

Kadar Meets Polish Delegates

LD142314 Warsaw Domestic Service 2000 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Excerpt] A Polish delegation of the Coordinating Commission of the Industrial Trade Unions took part in the [Hungarian trade union] congress. Answering questions during a press conference, Albin Szyszka and Eugneiusz Kubiszyn stressed that the present split in the Polish trade union movement does not exclude cooperation between all its components.

The Polish delegates also held talks on the fringe of the congress. Their talks with Janos Kadar were of a very cordial and friendly character. He wished Polish trade unionists and all working people success in successfully solving all our difficulties.

Polish Delegates Meet Press

LD150310 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 15 Dec 80

[By PAP correspondent Wojciech Stankiewicz]

[Text] Budapest, 14 Dec (PAP)--Numerous foreign journalists covering the Hungarian unions' congress showed their unabated interest in Polish issues at a press conference of members of the Polish Delegation of the Coordinating Commission of branch unions.

Answering numerous questions, Poland's delegates Albin Szyszka and Eugeniusz Kubiszyn stressed that the present split in the Polish trade union movement did not rule out cooperation among all its constituents. On the contrary, the unusually difficult problems of the working people, which continue to exist, require cooperation of trade unionists on all alevels. They pointed out that there is more that unites the reborn branch unions with the Solidarity trade union group than what divides them.

There have already been concrete examples of cooperation in factories and on the branch levels. Branch unions do not want artificial unity, but are of the opinion that nowadays one should constantly learn democratic and constructive action in the conditions of the union pluralism, being guided by realism and the interests of the working people. However, this requires that partners should trust each other and respect their different views.

Obviously, Albin Szyszka and remaining delegates, while not representing the entire Polish trade union movement, could only make statements on behalf of the unions cooperating in the Coordinating Commission.

Polish delegates also held a number of meetings at the congress lobby, including a very cordial and friendly talk with Janos Kadar, the Hungarian party leader. He wished Polish unionists and working people successful solving of all difficulties.

Polish unionists exchanged views in a friendly manner with Sandor Gaspar, who is also general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Alexey Shirayev, chairman of the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and trade union leaders of other socialist countries.

Discussions with Georges Segey, secretary-general of the French CGT [General Confederation of Labor] [words indistinct] Vetter, president of the West German DGB [German Trade Union Federation], Pekka Olivio, president of the Finnish SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions] and many others were interesting. These union leaders declared their support for all efforts made in Poland that aim to shape a strong and independent trade union movement.

All these talks irrefutably confirm that the international trade union movement treats Polish unions as an important partner, and that their active participation in [words indistinct] should be continued in the new (?conditions). This lies in the interest of Poland and of the international solidarity of workers.

CSSR Delegate Remarks

LD122318 Prague CTK in English 2006 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 12 Dec (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak trade unions will, side by side with the trade unions of the USSR and other socialist countries, work for wider international trade union cooperation, chairman of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions Karel Hoffmann said here today, at the 24th Congress of Hungarian Trade Unions.

He said the aims of joint trade union activity must be to solve the most pressing problems affecting the lives of the working people, to halt the arms race, to achieve disarmament and deepening of the process of detente.

"We are well aware that only in conditions of peace can trade unionists effectively fight for the interests of the working people, for their firm certainties, for favourable, dignified conditions of the existence of the coming generations," the head of the Czechoslovak delegation said.

He spoke of the close ties of friendship and cooperation linking the working people and trade unions of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, and of the active role they play within the World Federation of Trade Unions in the struggle for the interests and rights of the working class and action unity of the international trade union movement, for world peace and understanding among the nations.

FRG Union Leader Meets Kadar

LD131350 Hamburg DPA in German 1143 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 13 Dec (DPA)--FRG trade union [DGB] Chairman Heinz O. Vetter met in Budapest today, on the sidelines of the Hungarian Trade Union Congress, with party chief Janos Kadar for a talk which lasted about 30 minutes. The DGB chairman said after the talk that Poland was also discussed.

The two sides believed the Poles must solve their own problems. Vetter, who arrived in Budapest Friday evening, is to return to the Federal Republic today.

In a greetings address, Vetter told the trade union congress delegates that, in the process of detente between East and West, the trade unions played an important role both in bilateral relations and in overall European understanding. Detente should not be put at risk. Anyone who carelessly endangers international relations should "have his knuckles rapped." Trade unions are asked to ensure that a stable peace order is created in Europe. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki and the work done by trade unions created the outlines of detente which must now be filled in. Hungary and the Federal Republic have a positive track record regarding their relations, Vetter said.

GDR's Tisch Speaks

LD131822 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 13 Dec (MTI)--In his contribution delivered at the Saturday session of the 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions Harry Tisch, president of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, forwarded the fraternal greetings of nearly nine million organized GDR workers.

Speaking of the trade union relations between the two countries he mentioned that it is characterized by friendship and profound cooperation, which has come about on the basis of identical aims and ideals. The trade unions of the two countries operate amidst identical social and welfare conditions.

There have never been such possibilities and rights in the history of German labour movement--he said--for the representation of the interests of the workers as in the GDR of today. This is shown by the fact that the most comprehensive welfare policy programme so far has been realized and the constant, continuous raising of the people's well-being has been made the target. At the same time the results could be attained only with exceptionally hard work, since society can only make use of, can only distribute that which it has produced. The trade union will take into consideration this truth in the future as well, when designating its tasks.

The attention of every citizen in the GDR is taken up by the preparations for the coming 10th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party - said the president of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions.

In conclusion Harry Tisch spoke of the importance of the detente policy and peace, and pointed out that maintaining and assuring peace is invariably among the most important tasks in the interest-representation activity of the trade unions.

Romanian Delegation Attending

AU150919 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Excerpts] The proceedings of the 24th Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions have ended in Budapest. A delegation of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions led by Pavel Stefan, secretary of the Union's Central Council, attended the congress.

WFTU Official's Speech

LD122346 Budapest MTI in English 1801 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 12 Dec (MTI)--Following the report of Sandor Gaspar, general secretary of the CCTU, and the report of the Auditing Committee, the 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions opened debate on the reports. Also on Friday morning, congress heard the opening address of Ibrahim Zakaria, acting general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

The leading international trade unionist said among others: "The national affiliates and friends of the WFTU highly appreciate the important role played by the central council of the trade unions--[word indistinct] Comrade Gaspar personally--to promote greater understanding and cooperation among all trends in the trade union movement, as an essential factor to consolidate detente, assure people's well-being and foster social progress.

"These experiences of the SZOT and the discussions at your congress are of value to the entire world trade union movement, since we are all dealing with the problems of growth and social development in the various segments of our movement. All of us are now convinced that solutions to social and economic problems cannot be resolved without the full and active participation of the workers and their trade unions. All of us therefore have been demanding the right of trade unions to participate in decisionmaking, as a basic trade union right. This was stressed, in particular, in the universal declaration of trade union rights adopted by the 9th World Trade Union Congress in 1978, Ibrahim Zakaria stressed.

He went on to say that "This universal declaration of trade union rights, as a whole, has been adopted as a basic law in Hungary, on the initiative of the SZOT.

He added that "The experience of the European trade union conferences, the bilateral relations and the East-West trade union dialogue in Europe give grounds for optimism. The World Trade Union Conference on Development held in Belgrade early this year adopted a common platform with the full agreement of trade union centres from several developing countries, developed capitalist countries and socialist countries.

"These facts prove beyond any doubt that all of us can learn a great deal from each other, that all of us can contribute to build a better world, if we all exert our best, to learn how to cooperate.

Ibrahim Zakaria went on to say: "This cooperation at the international level has become an urgent necessity, as the world economy and its problems of growth are getting increasingly interlinked.

"Over 1,200 million dollars are spent on the arms race daily when half the world's population remain poor.

"Even a ten percent cut in the arms budget, as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries proposed at the United Nations, can release huge resources--the much-needed resources to create more jobs, to improve living standards, and especially to provide the crucial assistance to the developing countries to rebuild their economies revaged by colonialism and neo-colonialism. Trade union studies conclusively prove that reconversion of arms industries can be the most effective solution to the high unemployment.

"The global stratgies of the transnational corporations and their unilateral decisions of (?restructuring) and redeployment have already turned vast regions of traditional industry in West Europe into vast pockets of unemployment. All this further aggravates the capitalist crisis. What is needed therefore is a high level of consciousness and a willingness to act united on the part of the workers and trade unions to ensure that science and technology serve mankind and not reduced [as received] as mere tools for maximising capitalist profits. This is the class position of all trade unions," the acting general secretary of the WFTU concluded.

Report on International Activity

AU121245 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 11 Dec 80 pp 3-5

["Abridged version" of report "in writing" of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council to the 24th trade union congress beginning on 12 December: "Report by the National Trade Union Council to the 24th Trade Union Congress"]

[Excerpt] The international activity of the Hungarian trade unions is determined by the ideasl of solidarity among workers and proletarian internationalism.

In that spirit they have developed their relations and strengthened their solidarity with their foreign worker brothers and assumed an active share of the struggle waged by the working people and trade unions of the world against imperialism and for liquidating exploitation, safeguarding the interests of the working people, a better life, social progress and peace.

Gaining ground by the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence and by a shift in the alignment of forces in favor of those of socialism and progress has improved prerequisites for the Hungarian trade unions' expansion of their international activity and an extensive and multifaceted development of their relations. They have succeeded in maintaining their previous traditional relations and making them more substantive and progressed in developing new ones. Essentially, the Hungarian trade unions have established bilateral relations with all European trade unions representing different trends.

They have deliverately striven to aid and support, commensurate with their means, the endeavors toward unity, manifest in the international trade union movement, and the development of concerted action and cooperation among trade unions representing different trends. They have paid particular attention to rapprochement and dialogue and the development and strengthening of collaboration among European trade unions. They have actively participated in the process that has led to conferences of European trade union leaders and the creation of a new and significant forum for exchanging experiences and views.

The Hungarian trade unions have regarded strengthening the positions of socialism and popularizing and spreading its ideals in the world as their internationalist task. They have satisfied in a versatile manner and by a higher standard the constantly increasing interest that manifests itself in trade union work conducted under socialist conditions. They have made efforts faithfully to present the country's socialist reality and the practice of socialist construction in Hungary and make known the place, role and tasks of the Hungarian trade unions in society and the historical experiences obtained by them in socialist construction.

Our relations and cooperation with the socialist countries' sister organizations have become more substantive and multifaceted and enriched by new features. The Hungarian trade unions have paid particular attention to fostering multifaceted relations and cooperation with Soviet trade unions. The outstanding role occupied by the Soviet trade unions in the world trade union movement and their rich experiences in achieving, defending and developing the first power of the workers in the world have elicited and are eliciting respect and recognition by organized Hungarian working people.

In the framework of multilateral relations, the Hungarian trade unions are seeking more effective methods for performing trade union work jointly with socialist country organization. They are coordinating their views and elaborating joint positions concerning topical issues of the international trade union movement.

The Hungarian trade unions have paid increased attention to the developing countries' trade unions, whose role, significance and participation in the international trade union movement have continued to increase. Developing country trade unions seek and appreciate our support and follow with attention and interest the Hungarian trade unions' activity and the results we have attained in socialist construction.

In accordance with their strength, our trade unions have accorded every support to developing country trade union movements in defending and strengthening their anti-imperialist line and the struggle against neocolonialism, multinational enterprises and racist regimes.

Beyond manifesting their moral and political solidarity, they have also accorded material support to numerous trade union centers and regularly ensured means of medical treatment and vocational and university scholarships.

Under the favorable conditions of detente manifesting itself as the main trend of the world political situation, our bilateral relations with capitalist country trade unions representing different trends have continued to develop and expand in content and form. That development has been particularly dynamic in Europe, where we have succeeded in developing top-level relations and regular contacts with all notable trade union federations, and taking initial steps toward practical cooperation as well.

Our relations have strengthened and expanded with worker organizations of a social democratic trend affiliated with the WFTU. We have succeeeded in developing regular contact and a specific dialogue with European national trade union centers of a Christian trend affiliated with the World Federation of Labor.

In conformity with congress resolutions, the Hungarian trade union movement has appropriately contributed to further strengthening the WFTU and improving its working methods. The election of Comrade Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, as WFTU president at the ninth world trade union congress constituted great recognition for the Hungarian trade union movement's activity and international prestige.

Hungarians trade union representatives participated with initiative in the annual general conferences of the ILO and the third European regional conference of the organization in October 1979.

KADAR, LAZAR SEND GREETINGS TO LAO LEADER

LD131426 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 12 Dec (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, greeted in a telegram Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Laotian Revolutionary People's Party Central Committee and prime minister of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

KOROM, DELEGATION DEPART FOR CUBAN PARTY CONGRESS

LD131442 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 13 Dec (MTI)--The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party left for Cuba on Saturday under the leadership of Mihaly Korom, member of the Political Committee [as received] and secretary of the Central Committee, to attend the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. Members of the delegation are Karoly Grosz, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the County Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Committee of the HSWP, and Jeno Jakus, ambassador of Hungary to the Republic of Cuba.

SRI LANKA FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS OFFICIAL VISIT

LD131444 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] The Sri Lanka foreign minister has left Budapest. He conferred with his host, Frigyes Puja, on bilateral relations and world-political issues, and was received by Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar.

ZSL CONGRESS OPENS; KANIA, LEADERS ATTEND

LD131016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] The eighth congress of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] began in the National Philharmonic Hall in Warsaw today. It will examine ZSL activities in the period between the seventh and the eighth congresses, work out action programs for the forthcoming term of office, and will elect new ZSL authorities. Stanislaw Gucwa, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, opened the proceedings. Almost 900 delegates are taking part, representing nearly 500,000 ZSL members.

A PZPR delegation led by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and a delegation of the Democratic Party [SD] led by Tadeusz Withold Mlynczak, Central Committee chairman, have arrived to take part in the proceedings.

Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, and Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, are present. Among the delegates are veterans of the people's movement and numerous invited guests, representatives of youth, women's organizations, cooperative and socioeconomic organizations active in the countryside. Ministers of branches of the economy which cater to the needs of rural areas and agriculture are also present.

Gucwa on Socialist Alliance

LD141828 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 13 Dec (PAP)--The eighth ZSL congress opened in Warsaw today. Stanislaw Gucwa, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, opened the congress. Participants in the congress cordially greeted Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Tadeusz Withold Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party's Central Committee. Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Zdzislaw Kurowski and Jerzy Wojtecki, secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee, arrived to take part in the proceedings.

S. Gucwa, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, delivered a report at the congress. He said in particular:

Our congress is taking place in a particularly difficult sociopolitical and economic situation. We all realize this.

At present it is the most important task of the people and the state to put an end to any and all actions and undertakings which might exacerbate the disorganization of work and life and to concentrate on satisfying the people's basic demands in this period which is so difficult for our state and people.

The disproportions between economic development, social productivity and the growth of incomes cannot be maintained for long. In 1976-78 the rate of growth of wages was double that of social productivity. In 1979-80, despite a decrease in the national income and social productivity, the rate of wage growth exceeded 10 percent. The continuation of these tendencies with a simultaneous public pressure to limit price hikes exacerbates the danger of the state market falling apart, of the intensification of an uncontrolled, secondary distribution of the national income. We must not allow a situation of this kind to come about, in the name of the interests of the national economy, in the name of well understood interests of the working people.

Our economy is now facing a situation in which its further development depends on whether we are going to be able to make an economic and rational use of production factors. We should devote much more attention to better utilizing what has already been produced in agriculture.

It is being calculated that a considerably larger amount of finished foodstuffs can be procured from the produce of agricultural workers at its initial stage.

A consistent, programmatic policy line aimed at renewing the PZPR is a condition for the success of socialist renewal. This truth is for us, the ZSL members, beyond doubt. At the same time, on our part, we wish to make our own, ZSL contribution to the policy of the socialist renewal. The ZSL, as an ally and partner of the PZPR, will now and in the future actively take part in the whole of the renewal process.

We are a solid ally of the PZPR in the process of the socialist renewal and democratization. This is demanded by the good of our motherland and our state.

The situation in which our country finds itself has coincided with unfavorable tendencies in the development of the international situation. In this situation the urgent necessity to continue the policy of detente and international cooperation is growing more and more. A convenient opportunity for this is provided by the Madrid CSCE if it takes place in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere.

We completely support the proposal by the Polish Government made at the Madrid meeting, to convene in Warsaw an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament. It would constitute an important step along the path of constructing mutual trust and lessening the danger of a war breaking out in Europe.

Poland has been, is, and will continue to be an important link in the community of socialist states. We proceed from the basis of the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We should strengthen the defense capability of our army and show proper concern for the allied forces of the Warsaw Pact. The cause of guaranteeing our sovereignty and our country's defense capability should at all times by the foremost task.

Poland's affairs can only be solved by Poles themselves. We have decided to solve internal conflicts by political means.

We express gratitude to the USSR and other socialist countries for having helped us over this difficult period--credits, supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials are particularly valuable to us.

The ZSL takes an active part in the implementation and dissemination of Poland's peaceful initiatives, in constructing international authority of our state.

Gucwa on Economic Reform

LD132144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1810 GMT 13 Dec 80

["Excerpts" of the report-back and program paper delivered by Stanislaw Gucwa, ZSL Supreme Committee chairman at the 13 December opening of the Eighth ZSL Congress in Warsaw-recorded]

[Text] What problems are now of most importance for the country and countryside in the future? The congress and our entire party is asking itself this question and is seeking an answer. The ZSL should and must take up a position vis-a-vis the most important problems of our times. It must give its own answer to the question: What is at stake in Poland, toward what solutions should our country aim, what is the role of ZSL in the changes? Naturally, we have not just begun ideological, political, and socioeconomic searches today. These problems have been discussed in the party for a long time. We have written about them in our press, especially in WIES WSPOLCZESNA. The 23d and 24th plenums of the Supreme Committee yielded many achievements in this repect.

Our viewpoints were submitted in the theses for discussion before the Eighth ZSL Congress. We gathered such knowledge during (?meetings). Our attitude toward the basic problems of the countryside and agriculture has been expressed in the joint poisition of the PZPR and the ZSL concerning agricultural policy.

Moreover, in the tripartite declaration of coordinated actions of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD we included the viewpoint concerning the common actions as an alliance and partnership.

Among the most important matters we should include the consistent combining of the authentic process of socialist renewal with the normalization of work and life, and thus with the social and political stabilization of work and life. This is an exceptionally important matter because it affects our successful emergence from the crisis. In fact, it affects our future. The second problem is a credible and concrete program and practice for overcoming the economic crisis, which means that it is also a fundamentally important matter.

These two problems, stabilization and overcoming the economic crisis, are like two pillars on which the process of the socialist renewal of the people's republic rests.

We members of the ZSL must therefore pay special attention to the problem of restoring civic status to peasants in rural areas, social and civic sovereignty of peasants should be expressed primarily through the development of and authentic life within all forms of self-government.

Self-government was, and should always be, a training ground for civic attitudes and responsibility not only for one's own, peasant milieu, but also for the Polish state. Authentic self-government always helped rational and effective husbandry. We have started reconstructing self-government, it being an exceptionally valuable institution in the social life of peasants. We want to complete this reconstruction as quickly and deeply as possible. False actions and superficiality are inadmissible.

We are of the opinion that there exists the need for an early presentation of the program of economic reform.

Colleagues, the difficult, critical economic situation must not lead to any form of avoidance of problems which are the most difficult politically and economically. In Poland, we face the problem of prices for consumer goods, especially the price of foodstuffs. As regards these problems, we have found ourselves in a labyrinth with no exit. The last 10 years, instead of bringing progress in this field, brought only serious regression.

It should suffice if I quote the present consequences of the issue of the unsolved problem of consumer goods prices. Among the consequences are: About Z300 billion as subsidies for the foodstuffs industry, including nearly Z200 billion as subsidies for consumer goods; [few words indistinct] of the majority of consumer goods.

The deficit in the foodstuffs complex must be eliminated by the surplus produced by other consumer goods, than foodstuffs.

As a result of this, our prices give the impression to consumers that foodstuffs are comparatively cheap and that industrial goods are expensive.

So prices inform us that what is the result of very high production costs is cheap and that what is in reality cheap to produce is expensive. Isolating prices from costs breaks the foundation of cost accounting thus making development and economic equilibrium more difficult. Inflationary policies have made it necessary to often increase purchasing prices which must guarantee an increase in income similar to the increase in income of the population outside agriculture. As a result of this a paradoxical situation has arisen for many prices for agricultural raw materials have reached a higher level than the prices for the processed foodstuffs. The most dangerous consequence of not solving the price problem is that we will have a situation in which about 2 million small farms and the owners of about 2 million private plots [word indistinct] will not find it profitable to produce food for their own needs. With the existing retail prices and with the rise in production costs it is not profitable to produce for one's own needs for it is quite simply better to stand in line.

The question arises: Can we afford in such a difficult period not to exploit such great existing reserves for the production of meat, milk, eggs and other products? Without an increase in the retail prices of food, it will be quite impossible to activate millions of small producers.

However, the question arises: Is raising foodstuff retail prices at all possible? It seems that this is possible on the condition that there is full monetary recompense negotiated in a broad and honest social discussion with the trade unions and the whole public.

Gaining such approval beforehand, without which putting the economy in order would, of course be incomplete, is a great political task. The introduced coupon system might make it easier to solve the problem of satisfying food needs. With the coupon system the compensation for increases in food prices would be easier to implement. We consider one of the fundamental structural faults of our development to be the way the development of industry glaringly has not adapted to the needs of agriculture. The effects of not adapting industrial output to the agricultural needs were magnified by the system of distributing means of production in agriculture. One must stress clearly that economic criteria for distributing means of production in short supply were unable to become appropriately dominant in our agriculture. We must resolutely oppose distortions arising in the distribution of the means of production and in the management and distribution of land. For very often we have had to deal with a disturbing phenomenon that comes up again and again: Until now people who were in power but who at the same time were unfamiliar with agricultural matters and who were sometimes unfavorably disposed to peasant farming would make the equitable development of indidividual farming difficult or impossible. These practices took place both at the central level and also locally. The motives were primarily tactical.

The leading thoughts contained in the report and in the decisions of the sixth and the seventh plenums of the PZPR Central Committee constitute a fundamental step on the road of preventing cases of this nature in the future.

Among the particularly urgent tasks is the problem of improving the situation in the rural market--both regarding the market of means of production, as well as the consumer market. The possibility of buying industrial products in demand and consumer goods by the rural population can be of significant production importance because it increases the stimuli for increased production and creates interest in additional income.

In this connection, we favor giving preference to supplies not only of means of production but also of industrial goods in demand to farmers.

We must pay much more attention to better utilizing what is already produced here by agriculture. It is estimated that from the products obtained from the soil at their early stage, we can obtain a far greater quantity of foodstuffs in their final stage. With this in view, we must develop many enterprises of the foodstuffs industry.

Colleagues, economic and political interests speak of the necessity to adapt socioeconomic policy to the main producer, that is, individual farmers. We must treat them as a permanent group which is compliant with the socialist system.

The reserves existing at private farms--in the relationship of means used and results obtained--now speak in favor of giving a decisive preference to these farms regarding means of production from undustry, in favor of their increased participation in the cultivation of the soil.

The long-range demands of the development of agricultural production demand that we pay attention also to the backwardness of our rural regions, to the need to make greater use of the development of light industry and crafts in the social development of rural areas.

Naturally, it is difficult to imagine the real economic and social progress of rural areas without the reactivization of authenitic rural self-government. Thus, the problem of democracy and self-government is particularly close to us as members of the ZSL.

At present, conditions exist not only for the rebirth of the old, well-tried rural self-government, but also for enriching it with new, contemporary, socialist contents. We want to see in it one of the important elements for developing civilization and cultural life in our villages.

The party speaks decisively in favor of a self-governing road of development of our rural areas, but we also realize that there will be no authentic rural self-government until it becomes a trustworthy defender of the interests of farmers. [applause]

We welcome with satisfaction the government's decision to put means from the fund for the development of agriculture at the disposal of rural self-governments. This fund has accumulated through the efforts of peasants and thus, through a freely elected self-government. They should be able to decide how it should be used. [applause]

The strong allied position of the ZSL requires the development of the ZSL over a wider social base than up to now. The backbone of that base is and should be the peasants, but it is essential to widen it to broader circles also, [word indistinct] young people, including students. For these reasons, in accordance with the intentions of the [word indistinct] declaration on interparty (?participation), the ZSL takes part in the formation of all spheres of domestic and foreign policy of (?Poland), but concentrates on matters of the countryside, agriculture and the food economy. We want the principles of interparty cooperation and the principles of agricultural policy to be understood properly and identically everywhere by our activists as well as by the activists of the PZPR. Good interparty cooperation [applause] in the regions should not be the result of good will alone, but of clearly defined principles. [applause]

The ZSL, as an ally and partner of the PZPR, will now and in the future take an active part in the entire process of renewal. In accordance with peasant tradition [words indistinct] ally of the PZPR, of good and bad, in the process of socialist renewal and democratization. The good of our homeland and of our states demand this.

Allow me, Comrade Kania, to convey to you from all ZSL members, words of recognition and support for your effort in the formation of Poland's policy and, to you, words of support for the courageous and correct program of socialist renewal, [words indistinct] PZPR, in the resolutions of the sixth and seventh plenums. [applause]

We are convinced that all ZSL members, together with PZPR members, members of the Democratic Party, and the wide circles of nonparty people, will act to realize the process of renewal and utilize the great, historical chance for our state. [applause]

Colleague delegates: The catalogue of tasks facing us is extensive and of great specific gravity. We want the guiding idea in the course of implementing those tasks to be total realization of the fact of what the ZSL is and will be fighting for.

We will continue to struggle for democratization of life and social structures [applause], for the nonreversibility of the changes, for the successful development of the Polish rural countryside [applause], for the ZSL's role of serving all peasants [applause]; for tightening our bonds with the peasant class, traditions and all social forces which desire the good of our country and are acting effectively to achieve it [applause], for the unity of the whole nation under the leadership of the PZPR in the work to preserve for all Poles the most important values of our state, securing its sovereignty and independence. [applause] There must be no shortage of anybody from our ranks in this struggle, and nobody who lives in peace with his own conscience can stand apart from this struggle. Our eighth congress is held, as I have said already, in an exceptionally difficult situation. We are all aware of the dangers, of the responsibility. But at the same time we are also aware of the great chance to achieve the reform of social and economic life. I am expressing the conviction [applause] that the debate held at this congress will greatly contribute ideas to the implementation of this chance. Led by this thought one can think that the present congress will be historically significant in the development of our party. [applause]

Kania on ZSL, Crisis

LD131955 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1810 GMT 13 Dec 80

["Excerpts" of speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the Eighth ZSL Congress at the National Philharmonic Hall in Warsaw on 13 December--recorded]

[Text] Dear friends, esteemed delegates to the eighth congress, permit me at the outset to convey to you, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, sincere greetings and wishes for successful deliberations. [applause]

The ZSL, an extremely meritorious political force in the service of Poland, has inherited an exceptionally rich tradition of the peasant struggles for progress and freedom--the tradition of a movement which transformed peasant-citizens into conscious fighters for the revolutionary and national cause. Today the ZSL is a lasting and important factor in our political life. It awakens social energy and channels it into strengthening and developing socialism. The cooperation of the PZPR and the ZSL promotes the realization of the idea of the worker-peasant alliance. This alliance makes permanent and enriches the socialist form of our homeland. It augments the results of joint work for the country. It strengthens joint responsibility for its fate, for the prosperous existence of the nation. We have been and are allies through all the history of People's Poland to the present.

Our alliance, born in the struggle for a just Poland, for the people's authority of workers and peasants, has been tested in successful and difficult years. For that reason our party will always take care of the vitality of that alliance and will promote the activeness and high standing of the ZSL. The line of the sixth and seventh plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, although its realization will not come easily, is the great hope of our nation. It is the platform for uniting all its patriotic foces, directed by realism and a sense of responsibility. We rate highly the unambiguous support of the ZSL and of its supreme authorities for the program of socialist renewal of social life. [applause]

Ahead of us are the very difficult and complex tasks of leading Poland out of the profound crisis. Only the party with its allies is able and must carry this out. There are many difficult matters which need resolving. Some of them require time and large outlays. Others, in particular the ones which will create conditions for releasing social activeness and initiative, are being undertaken by us immediately.

We agree that developing agriculture and food production have been national issues, and not just today. That is why we are resolutely stating that we will ensure in practice that despite decreasing investment outlays for the entire economy, outlays for agriculture will grow, as well as outlays for agricultural processing and those branches of industry which are working for the needs of the food sector.

We must achieve a clear increase in deliveries of mechanical equipment, mineral fertilizers, plant protection means and other means essential to agricultural production. We agree that the matter of agriculture and the rural countryside should move into the hands of the rural self-governments, into the hands of the farmers themselves to a much greater degree.

Decades ago the idea of agricultural circles was born on Polish soil. In the most difficult years of partition and of capitalist Poland these served well the cause of defending the interests of farmers and the progress and development of education.

Also in People's Poland, although in some periods the role of the agricultural circles was underestimated, they were a living and authentic organization of peasants.

At present we want agricultural circles to achieve full self-government and much wider powers as an independent social and professional organization of private farmers, so that they express the opinion of the inhabitants of the countryside in all matters important to them. The transferring of the fund for the development of agriculture to the rural self-government confirms this. It is along this road, and not through creating new structures, that the important issues of agriculture--the defense of peasants' interests and agriculture self-government--should be solved. The constructive process of the rebirth of the agricultural cooperative movement and of the whole of agricultural self-government has already begun. Our party and the ZSL should give it all-round support and assistance. The work of the Polish farmers serves the whole nation. We will ensure that rural inhabitants are guaranteed increasingly better living and working conditions. We will broaden their access to education and culture and we will improve the situation and position of rural women. We will aim to draw up such economic solutions which will ensure that agricultural production is profitable at all times. The latest increases in the purchasing prices for agricultural products are a specific step in this direction.

Esteemed delegates! We are solving our internal problems in a complicated international situation. The widespread interest in the events in Poland, in their influence on the state of East-West relations and on the stability of the process of detente and the development of cooperation in Europe is understandable. The stabilization of the socio-economic situation and a tangible increase in the feeling of responsibility of all Poles for the fate and condition of the state are the most effective response which we can give for our part to those forces which want to exploit our difficulties for purposes which contradict the interests of a socialist Poland and its international position. Being conscious of the supreme raison d'etat and of the reason of our nation we will not allow anyone to make our country into an object of political games. No one is capable of pushing Poland from the socialist path of development--a Poland which is and will be a loyal ally of the Soviet Union and a steadfast member of the socialist community. Allow me to express the conviction that our party, together with the ZSL, with the Democratic Party and with all patriotic forces of our nation, will overcome the present difficulties, and that we will effectively implement the line of understanding and socialist renewal, the line of defending and consolidating socialist values and principles, the line of the well-being of Poland, of its security and its sovereign development.

Wojtecki, Mach at Session

LD141930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Excerpt] The eighth ZSL congress resumed its debates in Warsaw today. The delegates met at 0830 in plenary session. The essence of discussions of the highest forum of the party are problems of the countryside and agriculture and the tasks of ZSL as an allied party in elaborating and implementing a program for a way out from the difficult economic situation in the country. Reports from yesterday's discussions in problem teams will be made during today's debate. In the evening the delegates will elect the new supreme authorities of the ZSL. Among the invited guests today's debate is attended by Jerzy Wojtecki, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Deputy Premier Stanislaw Mach.

ZSL Congress Delegates Speak

LD150354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Excerpts] The main precepts and tasks contained in the report-back and electoral report of the ZSL Supreme Committee have been expanded and enriched during the plenary discussion and during the deliberations of the six problem teams.

Of course we are unable to broadcast the statements of all the participants in the debate in our short report. We have chosen excerpts from speeches which we believe to be typical in terms of content and which are representative of the mood of the congress debate.

The first to speak was the delegate of Wroclaw Voivodship, Stanislaw Dabrowski. The main subject of his speech was the problems in the functioning of our political system and the principles of cooperation with the PZPR, ZSL and SD.

[Begin Dabrowski recording] I have no doubts that in this initial period much will depend on what kind of central authorities we shall have in the PZPR, ZSL and SD. [applause] I am not conducting an electoral campaign here, because I know this is not done on the day of the congress or at the congress hall. I only appeal to you to elect in your democratic elections a Supreme Committee about which you will be able to say that it will fulfil this task [not further identified] in the process of renewal. [applause] Let this Supreme Committee elect a presidium on which we can also depend.

We promise all of them [presumably the members of the Supreme Committee and Presidium] that we shall support them not only with (?laws) but also with continuous checking. We shall keep on checking them, reminding them of resolutions. We shall keep on asking, "What have you done?" After all, this is our duty and is in response to the enormously important requirement of social responsibility. [end recording]

The debate also contained sharp and critical statements. Here is an excerpt of the speech by a delegate from Warsaw Voivodship, Kazimierz Grabowski.

[Begin Grabowski recording] We were not aware of the fact that research shows that about 30 percent of the rural population is living at the poverty level. Yes, at the end of the 20th century, in a socialist system, about 30 percent of the rural population is living close to the poverty level. This is the truth. Where have we been? Where was the ZSL? What peasant party, what authorities created conditions to make things better? It has been 30 years since the end of the war and I think there should be more progress in the rural countryside. My opinion is: There is no excuse for it.

We heard the phrase "We were pushed aside" in the report. What do you mean, "We were pushed aside"? There were people who had enough courage to disagree with this, such as Comrade Barcikowski, for instance, who resigned when he was not allowed to work the way he wanted.

What about our party? Who resigned from our (party)? In our party power is tightly held. I think that we must make our authorities answer. What happened to the Sejm? Why did we have delegates in the Sejm? We had deputies in the Sejm who, when a peasant complained, called him a speculator and shyster. You heard recently, it was shown on television, that one of our ZSL deputies was speaking about potatoes. He said that the noble honest farmer sold his potatoes for Z250, while the speculator sold his for Z600. I beg your pardon, but if this kind of attitude is expressed when the peasant wants a decent price, when he is called a shyster and a speculator, and if the ZSL deputy presents the case in this way in the Sejm, then, I beg your pardon, but here must be a misunderstanding. [applause] [end recording]

The debate is continuing. According to the program the session today will end with the voting for candidates for the supreme authorities of the ZSL. The results of the voting will be announced tomorrow. Also tomorrow, the debate will continue and resolutions will be adopted.

Report on Congress Discussions

LD150324 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP)--A discussion was going on at the 8th congress of the United Peasants' Party (ZSL) here yesterday and today.

Focussing their attention on the most important issues of the ZSL activity and assumptions for the development of agriculture and the food economy, the debaters [words indistinct] these questions in the light of the renewal of the entirety of Poland's political and economic life. Using various agruments, they firmly came out for the further overcoming of the present crisis by political means and consolidating guarantees that will prevent political and economic distortions from taking place.

As an allied party, the ZSL must effectively help the PUWP implement the process of renewal so that we will not have to seek ways out of a crisis once more. However, this cannot be a semblance of renewal, said Stanislaw Dabrowski, a delegate from the Wroclaw Voivodship and a scholar from the Wroclaw University. Therefore, one should continue enriching all institutional guarantees promoting gradual renewal of the entire state system. Neither is it opportune now to reflect on errors for too long a time. Naturally, all those who made mistakes should be punished in a severe and just manner. But it is high time that all of us start working better and jointly ensure order and calm.

A renewal of the social, political, and economic life, from which there is no return, means fresh content of the inter-party cooperation.

A political declaration of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and of the Presidia of the United Peasants' and the Democratic Parties CC, adopted on December 12, lays down basic principles of the inter-party cooperation in new conditions. Approving of these decision, participants in the discussion stressed that the Polish political system has proven out and there is no room for a different system in Poland. But this is not to mean that it should not be rationalized and infused with new values.

Inter-party cooperation should be partnerly [as received] at every level. The properly conceived partnership must rule out any negation of correct assessments and proposals. That is why various stands should be discussed in developing best concepts and programmes, but unity of action should be binding during the implementation of joint decisions. The ZSL will assume co-responsibility for the adopted decisions if it simultaneously takes part in the making and realizing of joint political and economic plans.

Full restoration of socialist democracy, which in the opinion of Professor Stefan Ignar, member of the Presidium of the ZSL CC, must simply mean social justice, is an extremely important matter for regaining confidence of the society. Democracy should be shaped at all rungs of the state, political and administrative authority, beginning with parliament and ending in the rural self-government.

PZPR, ZSL, SD APPROVE COORDINATED ACTIONS DOCUMENT

LD121911 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] A meeting of the Central Coordination Commission of the PZPR, ZSL and SD was held today. The meeting approved the declaration on coordinated actions which expressed the will to continue the socialist renewal of life in the country, the need for joint actions to consolidate all the nation's forces for overcoming existing difficulties, and restoring stability in the country.

It was noted that Poland can develop successfully only on the ground of a socialist system realizing the principles of socialist democracy.

The commission committed all echelons and organizations of PZPR, ZSL, and SD, to cooperate at the level of voivodship, town and parish.

The meeting was attended by: on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Jozef Pinkowski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and Zdzislaw Kurowski; on behalf of the ZSL Supreme Committee, Stanislaw Gucwa, Zdzislaw Tomal, Jozef Ozga-Michalski, and Jerzy (Brzystek); on behalf of the SD Central Committee, Tadeusz Witold Mlynczek, Zbigniew Rudnicki, Edward Zglobicki, and Andrzej (Hajecki).

Cooperation Declaration

LD122242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2005 GMT 12 Dec 80

["Text" of declaration on cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD approved at 12 December meeting of the Central Coordination Commission in Warsaw]

[Text] Cooperation between the PZPR, ZSL and SD constitutes the foundation of the Polish political system defined in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. This cooperation has solid and rich traditions born of and consolidated in the joint toil of constructing people's Poland. Profound socioeconomic transformations that constitute a lasting and indisputable achievement of all Poles are the historic test of the weighty role and significance of the alliance between the PZPR, ZSL and SD.

Concerned for the future of our fatherland, which is suffering today from a profound economic and political crisis, the Politburo of the PZPR Central committee, the ZSL Supreme Committee presidium and the SD Central Committee Presidum express their joint will to undertake decisive action to consolidate all national forces in order to overcome existing difficulties, to implement consistently the program for socialist renewal and to safeguard the auspicious development of the country.

The PZPR, ZSL and SD are invariably of the opinion that Poland can only develop auspiciously in the conditions of a socialist system, implementing and developing the principles of socialist democracy, shaping and strengthening socialist social relations.

The historically tested alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union constitute the foundation of Polish foreign policy. Thanks to this alliance, the struggle of the Polish nation against the Hitlerite occupier was crowned with a historic victory. Strong foundations for Poland's security and independence were created, as were propitious conditions for Poland's peaceful development within a new, advantageous territorial shape.

Both ideological and class unity of the socialist countries and the vital reasons [racje] and interests of the Polish nation are reflected in the Polish-Soviet alliance and friendship.

In the name of these reasons, the PZPR, ZSL and SD will invariably act to strengthen the friendship between the Polish and Soviet nations, the close cooperation and the mutually advantageous economic cooperation between the two states.

The PZPR, ZSL and SD express their unshakeable will that the Polish People's Republic should be a lasting link within the community of socialist states, contributing toward strengthening the defensive power of the Warsaw Pact and developing multilateral economic cooperation within CEMA.

The PZPR, ZSL, and SD declare that Poland will actively act in the international arena in the spirit of defending peace, a policy of detente and in the desire to halt the arms race and attain progress in the field of disarmament.

In the name of these goals, it wishes to develop relations with other countries on the foundation of peaceful cooperation and partnership.

We state that in the current difficult situation in the country it is imperative to consolidate all social forces and communities in activities aimed at reconstructing the economy, safeguarding social order and stabilization, and opposing with all resolve all undertakings and forces that make normalization of our life more difficult.

We must resolutely overcome impediments and obstacles along the path of a socialist renewal.

The ideological and political achievements and the line of socialist renewal of social life mapped out by the sixth and seventh plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, the 23rd plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee, and the 21st plenum of the SD Central Committee, are the common platform of our actions. This is a line for restoring the fundamental values of socialism, consolidating the principles of social justice and of socialist interpersonal relations, and solving social conflicts with political means. The consistent implementation of this line is in the vital interest of independent, sovereign, socialist Poland. It expresses our patriotic and internationalist responsibility.

We confirm that the leading role of PZPR, whose stabilization of the process of building socialism is in the most vital interest of our people, serves the security and sovereignty of Poland and is a fundamental principle of our system, independence, security, and peaceful development of the fatherland. The leading role in the political and social life of the country is performed by the PZPR in coordinated actions with the allied political parties, the ZSL and the SD, which, as independent allied parties, are participating in strengthening the forces of socialism and democracy.

The essence of our cooperation is common targets: the development of democracy and, in particular, of social self-government in accordance with the principles of socialism and the aspirations of working people. The partner-like cooperation of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD in governing the country is a basic premise of the democratization of life. It is a factor in widening political responsibility.

The cooperation of the PZPR with the ZSL and SD is the foundation of the Front of National Unity which forms the widest platform for the uniting of forces, commonsense and responsibility at work for socialist Poland in defending its vital interests. In this spirit the PZPR, ZSL, and SD will work at the Sejm, people's councils, the self-government of the inhabitants of towns and villages and in social and youth organizations. In this spirit they will influence the state administration and economic organizations.

The PZPR, ZSL, and SD support the renewal of the Polish trade union movement, both in industrial unions and in new ones, including the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, emphasizing their responsible role in the life of the country as a whole. They stand behind the ideological and political unity of trade unions, recognizing the self-government of the trade union movement with its full observance of the constitutional systematic principles of our socialist state, its alliances and national interests. Guided by the vital interests of the working people the trade unions should develop their cooperation on the basis of active participation in the social process of labor and in coresponsibility for its effects.

In accordance with the needs and expectations of peasants, we will actively support the reconstruction and the development of rural self-government, restore the status and functioning of the agricultural cooperative system, and support a thorough transformation of agricultural circles and agricultural associations.

Problems of the young generation, the shaping of its ideological and committed attitudes, proper preparation for life in socialist society are the subject of the deepest concern and interest of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD. Youth organizations, united in the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth, are embracing with their influence broad circles of young people, and an active participation in the socioeconomic and political development of Poland should be the expression of their role. Recognizing the particular value and significance of the ideological and political unity of the youth movement, we shall support efforts of youth organizations to enrich their own actions programs adapted to the needs of individual milieus, to educational influencing of all young people to a wider degree than in the past. All the links of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD should create a favorable climate for initiatives of youth organizations to carry coresponsibility for the ideological face and the level of ideological and educational work of the youth movement through their active members.

The ZSL is developiong its organizational activity chiefly in the rural milieu, among peasants and in all sectors of agriculture, institutions of agricultural services and the food economy, and also among the intelligentsia particularly linked to agriculture, and with the food economy among rural young people and those studying at academies.

The cooperation of the PZPR with the ZSL is a basic factor in the worker-peasant alliance. The expression and effect of the cooperation is a joint agricultural policy of the PZPR and ZSL, whose basic premises have been contained in the position of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and of the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee, submitted for wide discussion.

We declare that agricultural policy is obligatory everywhere, which is why we shall decisively stand guard to see that it is respected by all. On its consistent, creative implementation depends the satisfaction of our nation's needs for foodstuffs.

The SD, while developing its work among the intelligentsia, among employees of services and of light production, of crafts and also among circles of young workers and students, is fulfilling an important role in unifying and strengthening the unity of all patriotic, progressive forces in the nation.

Standing on the ground of Poland's further socialist development, the SD recognizes the implementation of socialist democracy as a leading direction and its supreme task in its political work.

Emphasizing the important role of the intelligentsia in the life of the country, the SD, in compliance with its traditions, will cooperate with the PZPR in favor of shaping the involvement of the attitudes of workers in culture, science and education, of the health services and of lawyers, in improving the socialist organization of the Polish nation.

The cooperation between the PZPR and the SD in the field of developing services and light production is greatly important for the nation's quality of life and for the dynamism and harmony of the development of the economic life of the country.

The PZPR and the SD will continue the joint policy of developing services and light production and will aim at the developing their authentic self-government. The foundation for this development lies in the joint attitude of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and of the SD Central Committee Presidium.

The fundamental ground for interparty cooperation is the permanent cooperation commissions of the PZPR, and ZSL and SD at the central level of voivodships, cities and parishes. Within the sphere of their action are political, socioeconomic, educational, cultural and social problems.

Speaking in favor of further changes in a democratic spirit, the PZPR, ZSL and SD declare their unbreakable will to defend the achievements of socialism and to continue the socialist road of development of Poland.

We are calling upon all members of the PZPR, ZSL and SD, on all forces centered within the National Unity Front, to close their ranks, to become active and involved in favor of progress in the process of socialist renewal of life in our country. Together, we will oppose all those who want to divert Poland from this road, who create confusion, who weaken the power and the authority of the state.

We appeal to all patriotic forces, to all Polish women and Poles to show their mature, civic attitudes, to create a wide front of action serving the development of our socialist fatherland. The prosperity of the nation and the further development of socialist Poland depend on the daily, honest work of the whole nation, on the wisdom of the working class, peasants and the intelligentsia.

Let responsibility for the fate of the nation, for its future, be the foundation of unity of all patriots, all Polish women and all Poles.

COMMUNIST LEADERS COMMENT ON CURRENT CRISIS

Honecker Expresses Confidence

LD130742 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, reported to the leaders of the GDR's political parties and the chairman of the National Council of the National Front on the results of the recent Moscow meeting of leading state and party figures of the Warsaw Pact member-states. Touching on Polish affairs, he stated that the participants at the meeting had expressed the conviction that Poland's communists, working class and working people will be able to overcome the current difficulties and to ensure further socialist development of the country. He emphasized that the Polish People's Republic, the PZPR and the Polish people can count on the fraternal solidarity of the GDR and other Warsaw Pact member-states.

The report of the Politburo, read out at the 13th plenum of the SED Central Committee, also touched on the situation in Poland. It was stated that the GDR was interested in a stable situation in our country and that it sharply criticized the activities of certain foreign mass media organs interfering in Poland's internal affairs.

Kadar Remarks on Situation

LD132355 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 13 Dec 80

[By PAP correspondent Wojciech Stankiewicz]

[Text] Budapest, 13 Dec (PAP)--On Saturday First Secretary of the HSWP CC Janos Kadar took the floor at the 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions in Budapest. Janos Kadar spoke about the international situation and--in this context--the events in Poland. He said that the situation in Poland is not easy. It is natural that the progressive forces of the world have turned their eyes on Poland, just like reactionary circles, hostile to socialism, are doing. Both sides have their own expectation. This is the situation. Poland is an extremely important element in the socialist community, the Warsaw Treaty, and one of the important factors of peace in the world. If we are to speak about the events in Poland, we must say that they also concern peace and detente in Europe. Our standpoint in this matter is clear. We outlined it earlier during the HSWP CC plenum and during the sessions of the Hungarian National Assembly. We regard the Poles as our friends.

We are tied by traditional, historic bonds of friendship, by the unity of socialist goals and interests and, therefore, we sympathize and solidarize with the PUWP, the Polish working class and the Polish nation. Poland is also our economic partner. This is another reason why we are interested in Poland being strong and stable. We want the Polish working class and nation, led by the party, to find a socialist solution to the piled up problems and to guarantee further progress on the path of socialist construction. We think that the communists, the working class and patriots in Poland have enough strength to solve these problems. The communique after the Moscow meeting contains a sentence, suggested by the Polish side. I do not know it by heart, but its meaning is this: Poland is a socialist state. It belongs to the socialist community and that is where it will belong in the future. We wish Poland this.

These words were greeted by a long, warm ovation.

Hungary's Gaspar on Crisis

LD130748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] The 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions began in Budapest today. Leaders of the party and government, with Janos Kadar and Gyorgy Lazar at the head, arrived at the start of the proceedings.

On the first day of the congress, Sandor Gaspar, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, delivered a report. He devoted much attention to the role of trade organizations, emphasizing the fact that the union movement in Hungary has not only helped to implement policies but has also taken part in shaping these policies.

Sandor Gaspar touched on events in Poland, stating that the Hungarian trade unions stood solidly with socialist Poland and the Polish working people. We express the hope and believe that the party, government, trade unions and working people will be able to defend the socialist gains in Poland and will find a way to solve the current problems.

Among foreign guests taking part in the congress there is a delegation from the Consultative Commission of trade unions under the chairmanship of Albin Szyzsk.

MOSCOW PRAVDA REPORT ON FACTORY DEBATE CITED

LD132242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Events in Poland continue to be widely reflected in the foreign mass media. The Soviet newspaper PRAVDA carries a report by its Warsaw correspondent from the Kasprzak works. The correspondent reports that at this factory, too, a debate on sociopolitical and economic problems was in progress. However, the factory workforce has pledged that debates should not interfere with normal production.

REVIEW OF FOREIGN MEDIA COMMENT ON SITUATION

LD142258 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP)--Foreign public opinion and mass media have been showing unabated interest in the developments in Poland.

Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], told a press conference that a delegation of the PCP Central Committee would soon come to Poland to study the situation there. Cunhal said that there were "some disturbing aspects" of the situation in Poland, but he also voiced his optimism as regards the possibilities of solving the crisis.

A lot of attention was paid abroad to a statement by the last conference of the Polish Episcopate. AFP said that the Episcopate gave moral backing for the line of the renewal implemented by the PUWP and warned against any actions that could pose a threat to Poland's independence and sovereignty. REUTER opined that the Catholic Church extended support to the Polish authorities and sharply condemned provocative actions of extremists and dissidents. AP and UPI expressed similar opinions.

The Italian press pointed to the article by Z. Siedlecki in TRYBUNA LUDU, stressing the statements on the possibility of a broad social dialogue. The daily LA REPUBLICA says that it testifies to moderation and restraint on the part of the PUWP and the state authorities because it indicates that all Poland's important political forces stand a growing chance for reaching an agreement on a programme for the democratic renewal, within the socialist system.

Foreign mass media and news agencies dwell extensively on the final communique of the NATO session in Brussels, with a special regard to Polish issues. The French paper L'HUMANITE said that while the Episcopate, the Solidarnosc trade union group and the authorities appeal for peace in Poland, NATO launches a strategy of tension, dramatizing the situation and not taking a constructive outcome of the Moscow meeting into account.

The Indian PATRIOT daily accused the United States and NATO of the striving to exploit the events in Poland as a pretext to create a climate of confrontation in Europe.

The Soviet press carries a TASS communique on the NATO meeting in Brussels, emphasizing that a behind-the-scenes struggle between the United States, trying to involve its allies most deeply into a provocative campaign of intensifying tension around Poland, and those allies who adopted a more reasonable stand on this issue, was going on there.

NATO COUNCIL DISCUSSES SITUATION, 'IMPLICATIONS'

LD122352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] A NATO Council session at the foreign minister level ended in Brussels today. According to the communique, made public following the proceedings, the participants in the session devoted much attention to the international implications of the situation in Poland, The NATO countries decided to continue to increase the military potential of this bloc. The foreign ministers of the NATO states discussed the progress attained so far in the Soviet-American negotiations to reduce the number of intermediate-range missiles in Europe. It was stated that these talks were of a serious and businesslike nature.

TRYBUNA LUDU PRAISES WARSAW PACT MOSCOW MEETING

AU122035 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Dec 80 p 6

[Zbigniew Lesnikowski article: "After the Moscow Conference: Poland in the Fraternal Community"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] FUTURE HISTORIANS WILL PERHAPS BE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN CONTEMPORARY COMMENTATORS TO ASSESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MEETING. However, even today the opinion prevails in the world that the talks among party figures and statemen for the Warsaw Pact member-states, completed last Friday in Moscow, were an event whose importance cannot be overestimated. Attesting to this are both the level of the meeting, the time at which it was convened, and the conclusions reached by the participants who deliberated, as the official communique emphasized, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL, PARTY UNDERSTANDING AND OF IDENTITY OF VIEWS.

"THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES STATED," the document reads, "THAT THEY INTENDED TO CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE THEIR PART TO IMPROVING THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE, CONSOLIDATING PEACE, CONTINUING THE POLICY OF DETENTE, DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND SETTLING ALL CONFLICTS BY NEGOTIATIONS."

It is hardly possible to offer a clearer statement on the policy aimed at detente and cooperation, particularly since the Moscow forum assessed many issues in precisely this spirit--from the Madrid meeting that, in the opinion of the countries of our community, may provide prospects for implementing the Helsinki documents, to the willingness of the socialist countries to develop relations with the United States, as stated in the document. The meeting's participants also came forward resolutely for developing relations with all countries on the principles of sovereignty and independence, for renouncing the use or threat of force, and for strict observance of the UN Charter.

DESERVING ATTENTION IS THE FACT THAT THIS CONSTRUCTIVE DOCUMENT, COMPILED IN A CALM TONE, WAS ISSUED AT A TIME WHEN PERTURBING SPECULATIONS WERE MULTIPLYING AND MOUNTING IN THE WESTERN WORLD ABOUT THE THREAT OF INSTABILITY IN EUROPE. THAT INSTABILITY--LET US EMPHASIZE--SHOULD RESULT FROM THE MATERIALIZATION OF THE PROPHECIES MADE IN THE WEST TO THE EFFECT THAT THE POLES WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFICULT AFFAIRS.

Thus it was good that at a time when that opinion still persisted, the world was able once again to familiarize itself with the view of leaders of the socialist states, represented in Moscow. "THE MEETING'S PARTICIPANTS," the communique says, "EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE COMMUNISTS, WORKERS CLASS AND WORKING PEOPLE OF FRATERNAL POLAND WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES THAT HAVE EMERGED AND WILL ENSURE THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY ON THE SOCIALIST PATH."

Let us bear in mind that this is the same idea that was expressed a few weeks ago by Soviet leaders in their talks with Comrades Stanislaw Kania and Jozef Pinkowski, during their visit to Moscow. THIS TIME THE SAME OPINION WAS CONFIRMED BY ALL LEADERS OF THE WARSAW PACT MEMBER STATES, who thus voiced their confidence in and support for the line drawn up by the sixth and seventh PZPR Central Committee plenums. They supplied evidence of their conviction that the controversial events arising from our internal tensions did not weaken our will to develop the fundamental principles and goals guiding us from the dawn of People's Poland--that is striving to tighten the friendly and allied links binding Poland with the land of the soviets and with other countries of the socialist community.

THAT STRIVING HAS FOUND A RESPONSE IN THE POSITIVE STAND OF OUR FRIENDS. "IT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED, the Moscow communique states, "THAT SOCIALIST POLAND, THE PZPR AND THE POLISH PEOPLE CAN ABSOLUTELY COUNT ON THE FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT OF THE WARSAW PACT MEMBER COUNTRIES."

We wrote about examples of this very solidarity and support in our recent commentary dedicated to the economic and financial assistance to Poland on the part of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. Soviet supplies and credits for purchasing grain and the GDR loan were reported at the end of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum by Comrade Stanislaw Kania, who emphasized that we valued that assistance as a manifestation of moral support to our party, our leadership and our authorities.

That support is all the more valuable since it comes to us at a difficult time, in a period when the national economy has been upset and when new social qualities are emerging, qualities carefully watched by our allies and friends who are concerned about the nature of the processes taking place in our country. Concerning this aspect, the fact that the PZPR representatives reported to the participants of the Moscow meeting on the nature of the processes taking place in Poland is particularly significant. That most authoritative report was undoubtedly not only a condition for understanding the substance of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum, but also a confirmation of what our party's representatives strongly emphasized: "POLAND WAS, IS, AND WILL BE A SOCIALIST STATE, A STRONG LINK IN THE FAMILY OF THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM."

THE ORIENTATION MANIFESTED IN THAT EMPHATIC STATEMENT RESULTS FROM OUR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES AND FROM THE CONVICTION, DICTATED BY THEM, THAT OUR INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE, OUR SOVEREIGN DEVELOPMENT AND LASTING SECURITY HAVE, FOR 36 YEARS, BEEN BOUND UP WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEOPLE'S POLAND LINKED BY ALLIANCE, FRIENDSHIP AND COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION WITH OUR NEIGHBORS, WITH ALL FRATERNAL COUNTRIES.

After World War II, those elements allowed us to break through a kind of "isolation syndrome," to obtain just borders and to insure lasting security for them. Those elements have helped us win high prestige in the world. Thus Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and our international initiatives undertaken in close cooperation with the fraternal countries, have consolidated the position of our country as an important, lasting and reliable link in the community of socialist states.

This is precisely the way the issue has been set forth in state and party acts defining the line of our country's foreign policy. Also, the objective of the ideological activity of our Marxist-Leninist party, as the decision of the seventh plenum states, is to "FOSTER THE PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONALIST PRINCIPLES IN THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PZPR, TO PROMOTE THE AWARENESS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE WITH THE USSR AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FOR THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, SECURITY AND SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND."

No sensible person and no group of importance in our country would dispute this line. No matter how heated the discussions are and no matter how long it takes us to overcome the difficulties, to get Poland out of the crisis and to accomplish the task of renewal, that does not affect the main conditions that provide the groundwork for our peaceful life. It does not affect POLAND'S PLACE IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND IN THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER.

THOSE CONDITIONS ARE DECISIVE FOR THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST STATEHOOD. INHERENT IN THEM ARE THE UNITY AND CONFORMITY OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM AND THE HOPES OF ALL PEOPLES, LINKED WITH STRIVINGS FOR A LASTING PEACE. For this reason, the public endorses the conclusion set forth by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo at its Saturday session devoted to the Moscow meeting: "SOCIALIST POLAND WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE ITS ACTIVE PART TO THE CAUSE OF CONSOLIDATING THE COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES, TO THE VALUES OF THE WARSAW PACT AND TO THE CEMA ECONOMIC POTENTIAL."

PACT SUMMIT ADOPTS THREE-STAGE SCENARIO FOR POLAND

LD121450 Paris LE FIGARO in French 11 Dec 80 pp 1, 3

[Bernard Margueritte Warsaw dispatch: "Moscow's Scenario"]

[Text] It appears that the leaders of the seven Warsaw Pact countries agreed in Moscow last week to act in a much more subtle way than could be inferred from the communique published at the end of that impromptu meeting. Referring to Poland, the official document expresses the conviction that the Poles themselves will be able to resolve their problems.

In fact, it appears that a scenario providing for three stages was finally agreed on:

First stage--Kania and his team manage to control the situation. Anyway, they are being relied on in this respect for the time being. If they succeed, it will obviously be unnecessary to worry about it all any further. However, if the present leadership were to fail, the Poles themselves would embark on the following second phase,

Second stage--the army seizes power in Poland and a state of emergency is declared. This means that if disorder were to increase and the party were unable to regain control of the situation, the army and the security services would be given the task of regaining control. It is only if this solution or this attempt were merely to lead to even more serious trouble--for instance, by bringing the country to the brink of civil war--that the third stage would be embarked on;

Third stage--intervention by Pact countries. Such an intervention would take place at the request of the Polish authorities in power at that time and, most probably, the East German Army would not participate in it in order not to arouse some still too vivid memories of the last war among the Poles. This far from pleasing scenario has at least one positive aspect: It confirms that, unless the situation changes suddenly--and obviously this is always possible--it seems that any foreign intervention has been ruled out for the time being.

On the other hand, a number of events has confirmed that many people in the country itself are thinking in terms of the second stage of the scenario. Some 15 days ago, General Oliwa, commander of the Warsaw Military Region, made a speech in the Sejm violently denouncing "antisocialist forces." Last week it was the Defense Ministry Council's turn to publish a very hardline communique.

Defense Ministry, air defense force and border protection force party organizations met 2 days ago, Tuesday. Furthermore I have learned from usually reliable sources that the Polish security services have started recalling some of their retired members, apparently to be ready to face any eventuality.

Nor can there be any doubt that the possibility that the second stage of the plan could be embarked on has not gone unnoticed by either the church or Solidarity and that it has played a determining role in encouraging them to do everything in their power, as can be seen, to try to reach agreement with Kania and his friends.

According to some people, General Moczar could play an important role if the second stage were to be embarked on. Let me state immediately that I do not find this view convincing. In fact, the general has recently made a number of "liberal" statements, obviously trying to show that he has changed a lot in recent years.

With reference to this, I have just learned that General Moczar made a very interesting speech at a Politburo meeting before he was elected Politburo member. Acknowledging that Poland is passing through a "very profound political crisis" marked, among other things, by a "growing risk that the party's leading role among the nation and in the state could be endangered," Moczar demanded that the party clarify what path it wants "to follow toward a long awaited renewal." This means that, first, an analysis of the causes of the crisis should be made and, second, the guidelines of a program should be presented.

General Moczar submitted a concrete proposal: He suggested that the office of first secretary should be abolished and replaced with a party presidium headed by a chairman and a party executive in the form of a collective secretariat headed by a general secretary who would also be a presidium member. What is of special interest in this proposal is that both the chairman and the party secretary general would be elected for 4 years at most.

According to Moczar, the aim of the plan is to prevent too great a concentration of power and also to prevent one person being "arbitrarily called 'party and national leader.'" This could help to "restore the working class' trust in the party, which has been undermined," and to recover "a minimum of the credibility needed." This would prevent "the antisocialist forces from undermining the party's social prestige." Furthermore, it would be made clear to the country as a whole that "this time the changes implemented by us are fundamental instead of being only superficial and limited to statements."

General Moczar admitted that in the past the party has also promised to promote democracy within itself and in the state apparatus but that, in fact, "we have made the same mistakes as before and done the opposite of what we promised." Therefore, the general concluded, this time it is necessary to ensure that the party does not merely make statements but gives public opinion "institutional guarantees" of renewal.

EPISCOPATE MEETS, URGES CALM, STABILIZATION

LD121558 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, primate of Poland, the 177th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate held a session in Warsaw. The primate reported (?the content) of his talks with Pope John Paul II and emphasized their weighty significance for the further development of relations between Poland and the Holy See.

The Pope is vitally interested in all the concerns and problems of our country. The Episcopate's communique states, among others things, that the bishops examined, with profound concern for the fatherland's future, the very complex situation in the country. The changes taking place give rise to many hopes but are not free from danger. It is impermissible to undertake actions which may expose our fatherland to the danger of threats to our freedom and statehood, the document of the Episcopate's conference says among other things.

Further on the bishops state that a decisive will is needed to oppose any and all attempts to halt the process of national renewal, to cause conflict in society and to make use of the existing difficulties for purposes that are alien as far as the nation and the state are concerned. In connection with the forthcoming tenth anniversary of the distressing events on the coast, the bishops instructed that next Sunday should be a day of prayers for national unity. Everyone must ensure that the festivities on the coast take place in a calm and serious atmosphere.

Episcopate Communique

LD122122 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] The 177th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate was held on 10-11 December in Warsaw under the leadership of the primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski.

In the communique published today the primate of Poland reported on talks with Pope John Paul II and in Roman congregations during his stay in Rome from 23 October until 10 November. Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski stressed the great importance of these talks for the further development of relations between Poland and the Holy See. Pope John Paul II is vitally interested in all the concerns and problems of our country.

Now, with the pope a son of Polish soil, the relations between the Holy See and Poland are tightening even further. Poland is becoming at present the subject of particular attention by world opinion. This attention is made even more acute by the changes taking place in the life of our country.

The communique states next that the bishops, with deep concern for the future of our fatherland, have examined the very complex social, economic, and political situation in the country against the background of the Church's tasks. The changes which are taking place and the efforts for a social and moral renewal are giving rise to much hope, but they are not free of dangers. Every renewal must be based on permanent principles, which for Christians are defined by the teachings of Christ.

It is impermissible to undertake actions which could endanger our fatherland with the threat of violation of freedom and statehood. All Poles' efforts should aim at strengthening the initiated process of renewal and the creation of conditions for implementing the social agreement between the authorities and society. In large industrial centers a change of attitude to the workers can already be noticed, causing people to perform their duties, some very difficult ones, more honestly.

Manifold difficulties, which our country is experiencing can be overcome if a program of moral and social renewal in economic and political life will be worked out soon by broad masses of society which will be acceptable to the whole nation. We are facing difficult years. They will require renunciation, sacrifices, and devotion. We must live in the hope that these have a meaning, that they are made on behalf of a better future in a free fatherland.

[Vatican City in Polish to Poland at 1515 GMT on 12 December carries the communique on the Polish Episcopate's plenum 10-11 December, adding at this point: "We must live in the hope that there is meaning in the conscious undertaking of sacrifices which seek to provide a better life in a free fatherland."]

A determined will is needed to oppose all attempts to halt the process of national renewal, to stir up differences among society, and to exploit the existing difficulties for purposes alien to the well-being of people and state. Our country primarily needs internal calm in order to stabilize social life in an atmosphere of rebuilding mutual trust.

The bishops addressed a letter to the people, calling for Christian responsibility for the fatherland.

[The Vatican version at this point reads: "The bishops have addressed a letter to the people, calling for Christian responsibility for the fatherland and have declared 1 January 1981 to be a day of special prayer for Poland through the mediation of St Mary of Jasna Gora, who for centuries has defended us."]

In connection with the 10th anniversary of the painful events on the seaboard, the bishops have ordered that Sunday, 14 December, be a day of prayer for the unity of the nation. The monuments erected in honor of the fallen in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin, and the envisaged celebration in these cities and other places in the country, should--the communique says--close a period of painful experiences. The celebrations should everywhere take place in an atmosphere of dignity and profound reflection on the experiences lived through by our country. All people must take care that the celebrations be held in conditions of calm and dignity.

[At this point the Vatican version adds: "In these days what are needed most are words of prayer. The celebrations at Gdansk and Gdynia on 16-17 December will be attended by, in addition to the resident bishops, the Archbishop of Krakow, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, on behalf of the Polish Episcopate; the bishop of Warmia, Jozef Glemp; and the Episcopate Secretary Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski.]

the bishops heard a report on the session of the joint commission of representatives of the government and the Polish Episcopate, assessing positively its work aimed at normalizing relations between state and Church.

[Here the Vatican version of the communique adds the following paragraphs:

["The decision to construct theological seminaries in Koszalin and Szezecin was accepted with satisfaction. The bishops participating in the work of the synod in Rome reported on the progress in the debates. The subject of this year's bishops' synod concerned the tasks of the Christian family in the contemporary world as a stage of ecumenical renewal. The fathers of the synod examined the conditions in which contemporary families are living because at all times and in all conditions marriage and families are required to respond faithfully to God's plans and to the grace of redemption. This primarily concerns the indissolubility of marriages and the bequeathing of human life to posterity. It also concerns consideration for a change of life of people living in unions not blessed by sacrament and who consequently cannot partake in holy sacraments. The bishops examined certain ecumenical problems, declaring the frankness and sincerity of the dialogue with separated brethren. The Church attaches great weight to the forthcoming week of Christian unity prayers, whose theme is "There is One Spirit But Various Gifts." We shall pray together in the spirit of the last encyclical of John Paul II, who said: We are raising our voice and implore that this love which is in the Father should once again appear at this stage of history, that it should make its presence known in the contemporary world through the mediation of the Son and Holy Spirit, which is a stronger force than evil, more powerful than sin and death.

["In view of the forthcoming Christmas holidays, the holiday of conciliation in the peace of Christ, the bishops are conveying to all sons and daughters of our beloved fatherland best wishes for the plentitude of God's gifts and spiritual enrichment. In preparation for these festive days we wish to accent more strongly spiritual values than material ones. Although we shall sometimes have to renounce the custom of a well laden table due to the difficult supply situation, let us do all that we can to live through these holidays in a dignified way in a time of unity with God and the people, of restoring friendly feelings toward family members and neighbors, particularly toward children, sharing what we have with them. Such actions during the preparations for the holidays will help to free us from nervous tensions, will enrich us spiritually and will let us give proof of our faith.

["Ending the debate the bishops blessed all inhabitants of our fatherland".]

Foreign Reaction to Communique

LD140554 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] The declaration made at the end of another conference of the Polish Episcopate was noticed abroad with great interest. AFP says that the bishops gave a moral guarantee for the renewal line implemented by the party and warned against all actions which could threaten the freedom and sovereignty of Poland. Attention is being drawn to the words of the spokesman of the Episcopate: "We are for a renewal within the framework of the present constitutional system." REUTER stresses that the Catholic Church extended support to the Polish authorities and condemned the provocative actions of extremists and dissidents. According to AP, the Polish bishops have warned against attempts to halt national renewal and have expressed anxiety over the future of the homeland. This was an appeal for moderation and cooperation addressed both to the Polish Government and to Solidarity.

BISHOPS' APPEAL FOR UNITY READ DURING MASS

LD141240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 14 Dec 80

["Letter From Polish Bishops" read by Father Jozef Dawidkowski during mass at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw on 14 December--live]

[Text] It is the intention of Solidarity that I offer this Holy Mass to God with a plea for the unity of the nation.

That is what I am doing, asking God through the sacrifice of Christ's death and resurrection, that among all the Poles there be one heart, one thought, and only one spirit that should enliven us.

Today, instead of a sermon let us hear the letter from Polish bishops appealing for Christian responsibility for the fatherland:

Beloved children of God, in the year of final preparations for the jubilee of the 68th anniversary of the presence of the miraculous apparition of the Mother of God, the Queen of Poland, in Jasna Gora, for this great jubilee, we wish to appear united with God and our brothers, thus to be able with a pure heart to sing to God the magnificent, asking Mary's protection for our fatherland.

The reality which we are living through today deepens in us the awareness of how very much we still need the help of the Mother of Christ. Our nation is now facing a time of yet another historical test, yet another experience, yet another shock. This is at the same time a great [words indistinct]. This is the time for all Poles to show their national maturity.

Learning from the experiences of our fathers, with greater trust we turn our eyes to the Jasna Gora of victory, whence we have always received help. However, the effective defence of our nation by the Holy Mother also calls for our cooperation. The defense which we are ultimately counting must not mean we should wait passively. The Mother of God will not fail us, but we must work together with her in the awareness of our responsibility for the fate of Poland.

The fatherland is our common family home. We have all grown up with the conviction that love for our fatherland is a duty and a virtue. An example of this love is given to us by Jesus Christ. Although he came to save the whole world, however, through the will of God he lived in one particular nation. He said that he came to see what was happening in the home of Israel and he wept when he saw Jerusalem threatened.

The fatherland is our mother educator. For this reason, as Saint Thomas Aquinas said, it is our duty to love our mother and father, as the fourth commandment tells us.

The second Vatican Council calls on Christians to live for God and Christ in the honest atmosphere of their nation, as good citizens: Let them nurture real and active love for their fatherland.

The holy father, John Paul II, through his attitudes and teachings also reminds us of the duty of true love for the fatherland. In Jasna Gora, on June 1979, he said that the molding of true unity among the sons and daughters of the same nation must be accompanied by love for the fatherland, love for the specific values which decide the fatherland's place in the great family of nations, and love for compatriots, people who speak the same language and who are responsible for the same common cause, which is called the fatherland.

On leaving Poland on 10 June the same year, the Holy Father said: I kiss this land, ff from which my heart will never be separated.

This sacred love for the fatherland is closely linked with order and the sense of responsibility. The fate of the fatherland depends on every citizen and on the whole nation.

We are living through a period of social tensions and material shortages. This situation demands sacrifices and self-denials from us, and all actions aimed at the renewal of the republic should be marked by responsibility, prudence and courage.

We have paid a heavy price for Poland's independence and we must not risk losing its security and sovereignty through irresponsible actions. These values constitute the unquestionable right of the nation to self-determination.

We are not a young nation. Our national existence goes back over 10 centuries. Poles are needed here, on this land, where the providence of God, the father of peoples and nations placed us centuries ago.

With this is linked our responsibility for this place, for the fact that it is in our ownership, for its production of fruits both at home and abroad. To do this we need national, social, cultural and economic sovereignty.

Every nation works primarily for itself, for its own aims, for its own families, for its own citizens and for its own social culture.

Although it happens today that there is no full sovereignty of nations, which are linked by various pacts and alliances, yet there exist borders for our alliances.

For this reason we must, with our hearts and our work, cling to our own land, the land of our fathers, like the tree which has grown its roots deep into the soil, because we are responsible for this land before the Father of peoples.

Bearing this in mind, we must remember that for the restoration of the necessary stabilization of the country and of normal social, economic and political life, we need the efforts of all the social masses--workers, farmers, the creators of culture and technology, educators and professors, pastors, the youth and politicians.

Each one of us must make his own contribution according to his ability. Each of us, too, should examine his conscience and ask: Why is the fatherland today going through this drama?

But it is not enough to recognize the sins committed against the fatherland. We need action leading to renewal. The declarations on mistakes committed, although they give a diagnosis of the sickness, are not enough.

It is not the time, either, for mutual accusations. The need of the moment is to unite all efforts to safeguard the institution of the state and to safeguard the sovereign existence of the fatherland.

Our efforts should go in two directions: to improve living conditions, which are imperative for the proper life of every citizen and his family, and the direction of moral renewal.

Never before has there arisen the need, as it has now, to recognize the links between moral principles and the economy, between the values of the spirit and material values. The destruction of these links leads to poverty and distortions in social, economic and political life.

Although all this which is afflicting our lives today has not been caused by the nation itself, but is also the result of the maladministration of public life, the tasks which face us must be undertaken immediately by all of us, and we must solve them.

Immorality must no longer be tolerated anywhere. It must be called by its proper name. The destruction of the lives of the unborn must be clearly described as the crime of infanticide; disordered family life must be described as the violation of moral laws; all frauds must be described as thefts and dishonesty; negligence at work must be described as dishonest; the violation of laws must be described as illegality.

Every citizen must have the right to say this and to take effective countermeasures.

None of us should allow himself to be coerced, or absolved of responsibility for his own task in social life.

We must prevent the creation of a new mechanism which could lead to distorations in public, social and private life. This is ordered by our consciences. The renewal of the life of the nation demands the renewal of our personal lives.

Our fatherland is now visited by the blessed hour of examination of our consciences. If the awareness of responsibility for the nation is being inspired to us, then this must be linked with the sense of responsibility for the value of the life of everyone of us.

We heed the call: Examine your conscience, examine the situation within your own circle. Let us also ask ourselves the question: How are we managing what God in Heaven has entrusted to us, to maintain our personal, family life, and for the raising of the new generation?

It might transpire that at times we might have been dishonest, bad in dealing with our own home affairs, and that many among us will have to admit that we have scattered what God has given us for the maintenance of the family and children through drunkenness, which today is widespread, and through immorality.

Let us think of what each of us should change in his own life to contribute his little bit to the general renewal of the republic.

Let us do everything possible to return to that foundation stone in our personal and family life, the stone which the builders have rejected, the stone which is Jesus Christ and his teachings.

Every change in man begins with his kneeling and his conversation with God. In addition to our own human efforts, and the desire for renewal, we need the powerful help of God.

In the present extremely complicated situation, in face of the opposing views and various social aims, deep in economic difficulties, [words indistinct], fearing the loss of the sovereignty of the fatherland, we cannot cope on our own. That is why we are appealing for help to the Father of all nations, who has never forsaken us, and who has saved us from the abyss so many times. [words indistinct] whose Gospel carries the moral principles for moral renewal.

Today, the whole nations should kneel and pray to the Mother of God, the Mother of God made man, our mother, the Jasna Gora Queen of Poland, she will lead us through the historical dangers and difficulties. In her we have placed our trust, in her hands we have laid everything that is Poland.

Let us not forget that it has through the will of God that Mary is still the Queen of Poland, our hope and victory, the defender of our nation.

We are appealing to all of you, to whom the fatherland is dear, to call you to prayer. We declare 1 January, the feast of the Mother of God, the day of prayers for the nation. The pastors will announce at which hour they will celebrate a solemn mass for the well-being of the fatherland, and they will also announce the program of prayers for the whole day devoted to this intention.

As from today, during every Mass, we shall pray for the fatherland, together we shall call, on God, through the intercession of Our Mother, to help us and enlightes us, for the restoration of full peace and the preservation of freedom, for order in life and for the spiritual renewal of the nation.

May the Mother of God, the Virgin, bless this act of ours, Mary, the Mother of Jasna Gora, the Queen of Poland.

[Signed] The cardinals and bishops present at the 177th plenary conferences of the Polish Episcopate.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY HITS UNION'S'CONTEMPTUOUS' ATTITUDE

LD061600 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Dec (PAP)--Not everyone is aware that today is a historical moment [words indistinct] dangerous territory, note POLITYKA commentator Daniel Passent in an article in ZYCLE WARSZAWY, titled "Change for the Centre".

A number of processes are taking place at the same time: changes in the working class and the emergence of its own trade union movement, changes in the [passage indistinct].

The changes in the party will all end well if it gets rid of those who are afraid of change as well as those who are afraid to say, "No: This is the borderline and we cannot back any further. But we will not only let you reach this borderline--we will go there with you ourselves."

It must be said that, besides beautiful and pure chimes of freedom and justice, Solidarnosc also gives out tones it can do without: sabre-rattling, theories that Poland is able to face the worst, a contemptuous, patronizing attitude not only towards the Polish Government, but also towards the governments of other countries, statements that the economy is in a better condition than the authorities say, and so on.

If history takes a favourable course--and we must give it a helping hand--and allows Solidarnosc to settle into our lives, the union will certainly face the issue of co-responsibility for the fate of the state and nation, economy included. Its responsibility does not and will not depend on what the Solidarnosc leadership and its 10 million members decide. Responsibility for the country is something objective and fifty percent of Poland's adults, grouped in one organization, cannot wash their hands, the daily said.

PREPARATIONS FOR GDANSK CEREMONIES NEAR COMPLETION

Gdansk Entertainment Ban

LD131034 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0547 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Announcement by President of the City of Gdansk Jerzy Mulynarczyk]

[Text] To the inhabitants of the City of Gdansk:

In connection with the solemn commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the December events, I hereby suspend throughout the City of Gdansk on 16 and 17 December all entertainment in socialized and nonsocialized catering establishments, as well as all entertainment in culture houses and youth clubs. All cinemas and theaters are to remain closed on 16 December.

Monument Almost Completed

LD142024 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP)--Preparations for commemorating the 10th anniversary of the tragic events of December 1970 on the Baltic coast are nearing the end. The monument commemorating shipyard workers killed in December 1970 and situated on front of the gate 2 to the Gdansk shipyard has been almost completed. The plaque commemorating the tragedy that took place near the Komuna Paryska shipyard in Gdynia and a monument to December victims in the centre of the city are also almost ready for the unveiling ceremony.

Arrangements Outlined

LD151038 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0545 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow ceremonies connected with the 10th anniversary of the December events will take place in Gdansk and Gdynia. They will be accompanied by an atmosphere of gravity and reflection on the past and on what lies ahead of us. It must also be accompanied by discipline and responsibility, law and order.

The ceremonies will be attended by crowds many thousand strong, for this reason traffic has to be reorganized. Special parking areas have been reserved for vehicles bringing participants to the ceremonies from inland. The inhabitants of the tricity employed in the area where the ceremonies will take place, that is in the excluded area, are requested not to use their own cars tomorrow. The inhabitants of the excluded area should remove their cars from the streets and take them outside the area so as to smooth the course of ceremonies and avoid any accidental damage to their cars.

Rest, calm and order depends on all of us, on our discipline, on us the participants in the ceremonies.

COMMENTARIES RECALL DECEMBER 1970 UNREST

Warsaw Radio

LD150718 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0535 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] This happened exactly 10 years ago. A wave of justified protest by workers against rash and injurious decisions adopted by the central authorities was growing. Some of the sensible, sober-thinking people of the party leadership and the government believed that the only solution to the conflict should rest in consultations and explanations, in changes of decisions which had no logical justification.

Unfortunately, this voice of prudence was not taken into consideration and had no effect on the actions of a very narrow group of men who possessed full powers, who did not hesitate, in defense of their unjustified attitude, to resort to the most terrible argument, the use of force.

Shots were fired in the streets of Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin, Elblag. People got killed, workers and employees of various enterprises, various trades, various branches. In the streets of Gdansk, Gdyunia, Szczecin, Elblag a tragedy took place which nothing can change. Several dozen human lives were brought to an end.

Ten years divide us from those days of December 1970. These were very different years in comparison with the first and last fragments of that period, years in which the strongest, the most essential chord was struck in the second half of the current year. Yet another political and social crisis materialized in July and August, a crisis deeper still than the one 10 years ago, with a still wider range.

Its solutions took from the very outset an entirely different course than that of December 1970. Sound forces genuinely dedicated to the workers' cause in the leadership of our country have dismissed the thought of a repetition of the tragedy of 10 years ago. Discussions, mutual concessions, an elimination of errors, the repair of our life, the reconstruction of confidence--this is our new road and an unequivocally adopted new style in relations between all Poles.

This is the only correct and just one. Only a few months after the peak moments of the August crisis, we are now only at the beginning of this road, a difficult road, a long one, a road which calls for many more efforts, sacrifices and first of all for tough and selfless daily work.

The life of our country has been undergoing changes in the past few months. Much new is happening. One of the symptoms of this is the new approach, the only just one to the December tragedy. Its 10th anniversary commemorated through the country in a worthy and lofty manner constitutes an important part of what is new.

Monuments will be solemnly unveiled at the places of the December tragedy to commemorate its victims. The monuments are being erected at the initiative and with the efforts of the broadest masses of the community. They have been completed in close cooperation with the authorities. The celebrations will take place in an atmosphere fitting their character, in gravity and with the deep reflections which they evoke.

This atmosphere of gravity is the characteristic trait of the life of the entire tricity at present. All entertainment events have been canceled. Clubs, cinemas and theaters have closed.

In a number of Gdansk and Gdynia churches combined professional and amateur choirs and orchestras will perform Mozart's Requiem. People of varying ages, of various persuasions, of various trades, will meet at the central celebrations connected with the unveiling of the monuments to the fallen in 1970. Present will be the families of those killed, representatives of state and church authorities, of social and vocational organizations, of schoolchildren and students, of workers and farmers, of sailors and airmen, and of the army.

Together we will pay tribute to the memory of those who perished in December 10 years ago. This meeting will have another important aspect. It will provide an opportunity for commemorating the past, drawing from it at the same time conclusions and guidelines for the future which will guarantee that the tragedy will never be repeated. Those participating in the unveiling of monuments in Gdansk and Gdynia will no doubt reflect on the path which is in front of us, the citizens of socialist Poland, the path which we have chosen after the crises of December, June and August in the common interest of all Poles.

It is not an easy one, but the only correct one. It is not a formal and verbal, but a genuine testimony to the unity of the entire community which has in its history on many occasions testified that it is capable of greatest efforts and sacrifices for itself and for its successors. I am convinced that on this occasion it will be the same. This will also be a lesson drawn from December 1970. This will be the most beautiful tribute to the memory of the victims of those days.

Trade Union Program

LD131827 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Dec 80

[From the "Trade Union Magazine" program]

[Text] In a few days' time it will be exactly 10 years since the tragic days of December 1970. Thus, there is an occasion for reflection, because exactly 10 years later, as the result of successive mistakes and distortions made in our economy and in our life, there took place another protest by the working class.

This present crisis is deeper and more difficult than the one that took place in December 1970. This time, those in charge of the party and ship of state were able to avoid the great dangers which lie in the taking of human lives.

The new party and state leadership has shown to the same degree as has the working people its commonsense, prudence and restraint. The crisis has been solved along the path of commonsense and negotiations.

This was the first effect of the conclusions that all of us have drawn from December 1970. Today, during the days of the great renewal, we are living through many changes and transformations which are taking place in our country. We are drawing conclusions; we are not afraid to return to the past, which cannot be eliminated from our memory.

A visible proof of new times, which are entering all spheres of life, are the monuments which during the next few days will be unveiled in places where tragedies took place. These monuments are being erected through the joint efforts of the working people, with very close cooperation by the authorities.

The ceremonies linked with the monuments will constitute an occasion for further reflections about the importance, commonsense and honored memories of those who have fallen. And we shall all think about what conclusions, what lessons we can draw from the past, the past which cannot be changed.

Today we can and must think and act in such a way that in our common home, in Poland, there will be better management for a better future, for people who are linked not only by a common language, by production, culture, but primarily by a desire for a better future, which we can achieve through our own hard work.

PINKOWSKI MEETS ENGINEERS, TECHNOLOGISTS

LD122204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] On the 35th anniversary of the Supreme Technological Organisation [NOT] a working meeting was held today at the Council of Ministers' offices of Premier Josef Pinkowski with chairmen of scientific and technological associations and members of the Presidium of the Main Council of NOT. Speaking about the tasks of engineers and technologists it was stressed that in the immediate future power industry problems, which are decisive for the development of various spheres of our economy, will be key problems facing them.

VOIVODSHIP LEADERS, OFFICIALS GATHER IN WARSAW

Pinkowski Chairs Conference

LD140044Z Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] A conference of voivodas and presidents of voivodship cities took place today in Warsaw under the chairmanship of Premier Jozef Pinkowski. They discussed the draft provisions of the national socioeconomic plan and of the state budget for the year 1981, and within this framework the tasks facing the local economy. It was stated that in the present situation, to the fore come actions aimed at the restoration of the correct rhythmn of work in industry, the development of agriculture, the foodstuffs industry and the easing of the market difficulties.

Next year, we will have to make use of all the possibilities available for improving supplies of cereals and fodder, in order to prevent any further drop in the number of farm animals. It is also necessary to husband in the most effective way all cultivatable land and to rationally use equipment for the production of foodstuffs and the processing of local raw materials.

With a view to providing better supplies to the market of articles in demand, it is necessary to develop more actively than hitherto light industry, both state-owned and cooperative. We must increase efforts aimed at the speeding-up of the development of crafts and services for the population. In local plans, priority should be given to the development of the technical infrastructure, on which depends housing construction and the correct functioning of cities, and also to the development of the social infrastructure, mainly health services and education. This is linked with the need to tidy up industrial investments and the transformation of the structure of production, in compliance with the needs of the market.

It is particularly important to ensure efficiency throughout the state and economic administration directed at correct solutions of tasks defined by the plan. With this in view, it is necessary to link closely the problem of implementation of production tasks with the condition of satisfying social needs, and to deepen responsibility for the solution of difficulties. The conference also discussed tasks in the field of strengthening order and the protection of national property.

Propaganda Officials Meet

LD131422 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] A conference of propaganda secretaries of voivodship PZPR committees with the participation of the leadership of PZPR Central Committee committees for Ideological and Educational Work; Press, Radio and Television; Culture; and Science and Education was held in Warsaw today chaired by Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

The conference discussed the main problems and tasks of the ideological and propaganda front of the party after the Seventh PZPR Plenum, connected with the strengthening of the socialist character of the renewal of social life. The need to step up the political offensive of the party and its entire ideological front, the need for further mobilization of party members in implementing party policy against the background of the present sociopolitical and economic situation in the country was emphasized.

Economic Secretaries Meeting

LD131412 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] At the PZPR Central Committee today a conference was held by economic secretaries of voivodship committees chaired by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. The tasks of party echelons and organizations in the sphere of the economy, in particular on preparations for the drafting of socioeconomic plans of ministries, voivodships and enterprises, were discussed. Special attention was drawn to the sociopolitical aspects of the market situation.

KROSNO VOIVODSHIP COUNCIL ELECTS NEW CHAIRMAN

LD121608 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] An extraordinary session of the voivodship Peoples Council was held in Czestochowa today. The councillors heard a report on the progress of implementing a decision adopted at the council's previous meeting intended to improve the working methods of the council as well as the work done by councillors with the voters.

The voivodship Peoples Council in Krosno also held a session today to discuss the implementation of suggestions put forward by people of the sub-Carpathian region during the Sejm and voivodship peoples council election campaign and during meetings between council officials and representatives of social and professional communities.

During the session Wladyslaw Kandefer, first secretary of the party voivodship committee asked to be relieved from the post of council chairman. Stanislaw Kolak, long-serving director of the zootechnical experimental establishment in Obrzechowa, doctor of agricultural science and member of the United Peasant Party, was elected chairman of the voivodship peoples council.

NEW PLOCK VOIVODA APPOINTED 13 DECEMBER

LD131740 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers, after consultation with the voivodship Peoples Council in Plock, has appointed Antoni Bielak to the post of the voivoda of Plock and at the same time, responding to the request of Karol Gawlowski, relieved him of his post as the voivoda of Plock, expressing appreciation to him for his work.

NEW VOIVODAS APPOINTED IN LEGNICA, SZCZECIN

LD131634 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Zdzislaw Barczewski to the position of voivoda of Legnica. He was formerly deputy voivoda.

A change has also been made in Szczecin, where Tadeusz Waluszkiewicz has been appointed Voivoda. He has been working at the PZPR voivodship committee as secretary. At the same time the chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled Henryk (Kanicki) from the position of voivoda of Szczecin, expressing thanks for his past work.

BORDER STATIONS TRANSLOADING SOVIET GOODS

LD150746 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Goods from the Soviet Union are being transloaded today without interruption at Bialystok Voivodship border stations. The Geniusze transloading station is prepared chiefly for the transloading of Soviet grain, of which 115,000 tons have been received since October. At (Siemianowka) border station mainly industrial goods are received. Today the railroad workers at that station have been transloading cross-country vehicles, refrigerators, television sets and spare parts. The two transloading stations in Bialystok Voivodship are to transload nearly 8,000 tons from the Soviet Union today.

LEADERS EXCHANGE MESSAGES ON FRG TREATY DAY

LD071524 Warsaw PAP in English 1409 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Dec (PAP)--In connection with the 10th anniversary of the Polish-West German treaty on the bases for normalization of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic (December 7), first secretary of the PUWP CC Stanislaw Kania, president of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of Ministers Jozef Pinkowski and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek exchanged messages with Federal President Karl Carstens, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Federal Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. In their message to Chancellor Schmidt, Stanislaw Kania and Jozef Pinkowski noted with satisfaction that since the treaty was signed both countries have achieved considerable progress in mutual relations.

"Our states have developed an active political dialogue, beneficial both for bilateral relations and for the policy of detente in Europe. On some issues we have reached important agreements. Contacts were established and talks conducted in all spheres of considerable importance for the cooperation between both countries. We have already achieved a lot, although there is still much to be solved, including issues that are crucial for the future of normalization of our mutual relations".

"The treaty of December 7, 1970, together with the treaties signed by the other socialist states and the FRG at the outset of the 1970's, was an expression of recognition and respect for the post-war reality in Euroope and became an important factor in paving the road to detente and cooperation, strenthening peace and security in Europe. Coming out with the proposal to sign the treaty with the Federal Republic, Poland strove for an agreement of fundamental importance, whose content would contain a synthesis of the historical experience of Polish-German neighborhood. Poland's expectations were met halfway by those forces in the FRG which already then were aware of the need to arrange matters with Poland so that there would be 'no seed of future conflict'. We trust deeply that the further normalization and development of our relations with the Federal Republic on the basis of the December 7, 1970 agreement will be a constructive factor in the peaceful development of Europe."

In his message to Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek also expressed his deep conviction that the will to be consistently guided by the aims and principles of the December 7, 1970 treaty and other bilateral agreements will allow to solve the outstanding problems in our relations in the interest of both our countries and European peace.

CZYREK INTERVIEWED ON FRG TREATY DECENNIAL

AU121220 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6-7 Dec 80 p 6

[Karol Szyndzielorz interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek on the 10th anniversary of the Polish-FRG treaty--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] How was the political climate changed in the past 10 years? How has Europe changed?

[Answer] Poland is clearly aware of the achievements of detente, which means above all efforts by all European states to create new qualities in international politics in a democratic way and on the basis of consensus. We have worked out and implemented the principles of coexistence among nations as well as a sweeping program based on political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation.

Europe has never known such a period of blossoming cooperation as in the past 10 years. Nor does general history know a document that could be compared in its implications to the CSCE Final Act. It goes without saying that the process of detente that has developed in the political or economic arena could not have solved all the contradictions that stem from the states' membership of different systems and military-political groupings. Nor has the process of detente penetrated the area of military detente in good time and with the necessary elan.

[Question] Even 10 years ago it was obvious that the process of normalization would not be smooth. Which obstacles have you expected and which have taken you by surprise?

[Answer] First I would like to recall that we expected the revanchist and revisionist forces, and even the forces that turned their refusal to recognize the political and territorial realities of World War II into a political doctrine, to hinder the process of normalization. After all the point is that social awareness becomes attuned to the historic decisions that determine the prospects of life in Europe. On the other hand, we did not expect the FRG official institutions to make such stubborn attempts at legal interpretations that would undermine the letter and spirit of the treaty. Such reservations have no international legal validity, as have the accords concluded by our two states and ratified by their parliaments. Nevertheless, such activities have weakened trust and even made impossible the conclusion of some accords, such as the pension accord.

[Question] We are entering the second decade of normalization. What themes will determine European cooperation and Polish-FRG relations in the eighties?

[Answer] When entering the period of normalization, we were able to profit by the general devleopment of the situation in Europe. In the same way, the future of our bilateral relations will be determined by the climate on our continent. It is clear that we regard Polish-FRG relations not only as bilateral, but also as a contribution to the European infrastructure of peace. We attach basic importance to ensuring that there is agreement and cooperation between our two countries when strengthening European detente, security and cooperation. Together with the FRG we are participating in the Vienna talks on mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments in central Europe. Although these talks are having great difficulties, they are of enormous significance for all Europe. We are also under the impression that the FRG has responded encouragingly to the invigoration, specific development and implementation of the idea of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. I see in this a plane of dialogue that is important for our countries and Europe. We can help shape up the climate in Europe in the eighties. The point is that, side by side with security and socioeconomic issues, we should solve the issue of military detente.

[Question] Willy Brandt said 10 years ago that Polish-FRG relations must not carry a germ of future disputes. Is this true 10 years later?

[Answer] Despite our proverbial optimism, it would be utopia to assume that Polish-FRG relations will develop without problems. Our two governments continue to differ on Eurostrategic armaments, which were decided on in Brussels last year. It is true that the the Polish-FRG treaty clearly details the principles of mutual relations and even the renunciation of territorial claims now and in the future as well as nonuse of force in mutual relations. On all these points the treaty is unequivocal, and if its letter and spirit are strictly observed then the possibilities for disputes will be curbed.

There may and there certainly will be differences in views on the forms and extent of the implementation of the treaty. However, we should watch this all the time. [paragraph continues]

In this connection I also think of the sense of responsibility on the part of the two governments and of those political forces that have assumed the burden of this historic process.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTAGE ON BELGIAN MINISTER'S VISIT

Czyrek Dinner Speech

AU111300 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 80 p 9

[Report on speech by Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek at the 4 December Warsaw dinner in honor of visiting Belgian Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] MINISTER CZYREK RECALLED THAT POLAND AND BELGIUM HAD BEGUN A CONSTRUCTIVE POLITICAL DIALOGUE AS EARLY AS THE END OF THE COLD WAR. THAT DIALOGUE HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS IN EUROPE.

Together with its allies, Poland resolutely follows the policy of strengthening peace and detente, and of countering escalation of the arms race and attempts to return to a policy of strength. Today more than ever before we urgently need prudence and realism. IT IS POSSIBLE TO OVERCOME DANGEROUS TENDENCIES ONLY THROUGH A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE, THROUGH A DESIRE FOR UNDERSTANDING AND THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THE SOCIALIST STATES GROUPED IN THE WARSAW PACT RESOLUTELY FOLLOW JUST SUCH A LINE, AS ATTESTED TO BY THE SPECIFIC INITIATIVES AND PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND THE WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS' COMMITTEE. IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT THE SOCIALIST STATES ARE PARTICIPATING IN THE MADRID MEETING. WE THINK IT IS NECESSARY TO CONVENE A CONFERENCE ON MILITARY DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE.

J. Czyrek stressed the importance for the present world of Soviet-American relations. International opinion is gratified by all manifestations and hints of the hope that difficulties in the Soviet-American dialogue and relations will be overcome. One such favorable manifestation is the start of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on restricting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and nuclear weapons in the advanced American bases.

Poland fully supports the constructive efforts and actions of the USSR and its consistent peace policy.

J. CZYREK EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT POLISH-BELGIAN COOPERATION WILL CONTINUE TO COMPREHENSIVELY DEVELOP, ESPECIALLY ON THE PLANE OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS ECONOMIC COOPERATION. He also noted that it would be extremely profitable to rapidly draw up the general terms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between CEMA and the Common Market.

OUR COUNTRY, HE SAID IN CONCLUSION, IS GOING THROUGH A PERIOD OF DIFFICULT PROCESSES IN SOCIOPOLITICAL LIFE. WE ARE SOLVING OUR PROBLEMS IN KEEPING WITH THE ASPIRATIONS AND WILL OF OUR PEOPLE. THE RECENT SEVENTH PZPR PLENUM ADOPTED IMPORTANT DECISIONS TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND TO STRENGTHEN OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT. As a permanent element of the socialist states and as an indefatigable champion of peace, detente and international cooperation, Poland will continue to actively participate in and contribute to European and international policy.

Communique on Vist

AU122005 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Dec 80 p 6

[Communique issued in Warsaw on the 4-5 December official visit to Poland by Belgian Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb]

[Text] PAP--At the invitation of Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek, Belgian Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb paid an official visit to Poland from 4-5 December 1980. Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb was received by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski and by Vice Premiers Mieczyslaw Jagielski and Henryk Kiesel.

Minister J. Czyrek and C. F. Nothomb had talks in an atmosphere of candor and friendship, which are traditional features of Polish-Belgian relations. The two ministers stated with pleasure that Polish-Belgian relations are developing favorably, in accordance with the spirit and content of the Polish-Belgian declarations on strenthening friendship and cooperation. They pledged to consistently work to develop and intensify friendship and cooperation.

The two ministers take the view that the political dialogue, which should be promoted at all levels, reflects a sweeping similarity of views and helps strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation. In that context they stressed the importance of regular meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers, and of working consultations between the two countries' foreign ministers, and of working consultations between their ministries.

Noting the favorable development of cultural, scientific and technical cooperation, the two ministers voiced the conviction that the future program for cooperation in 1981-82, which will soon be drawn up by the joint commission, will provide new stimuli for advantageous development of this cooperation.

The ministers reviewed economic cooperation and noted the prospects for extending it to new fields. They stressed that a constant and balanced development of economic cooperation is of crucial importance for the entire spectrum of Polish-Belgian relations and for building a peaceful infrastructure in Europe.

The two ministers carried out a sweeping and in-depth exchange of views on current international issues, paying special attention to East-West relations. They expressed concern over increased tension in international relations, and reaffirmed the determined resolve of their governments to counter this tension, and to continue efforts to further develop the process of detente in Europe and the world and to strengthen international security.

Stressing the importance they attach to the current meeting in Madrid, the two ministers strongly emphasized the need to closely adhere to all the principles of the CSCE Final Act, and to implement all its decisions. They stressed the importance of rebuilding and strengthening trust, as well as the need to achieve in Madrid a specific and balanced progress in all spheres of the Final Act. In that connection they expressed the hope that the Madrid meeting will result in adopting a mandate for the future conference of the Final Act signatories on security and disarmament in Europe, and presented their views on this issue. The ministers again stressed the importance they attach to the current and future negotiations on disarmament, emphasizing the urgent need to achieve progress on the basis of the principle that the security of the sides should not be diminished.

The ministers expressed their countries' interest in progress in the negotiations on mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments, as well as associated hardware in central Europe. They expressed their profound hope that efforts to lower the level of confrontation in Europe will make it possible to rapidly achieve an accord on first stage reductions. The ministers stressed the importance of the SALT process for strengthening international security. They welcomed with great pleasure the recently begun Sovet-American talks in Geneva, and stressed their significance for improving prospects to limit armaments.

The two sides stressed the need to increse the effectiveness of the disarmament negotiations in Geneva. They regard as urgent agreement on the total ban on nuclear weapon tests.

The ministers expressed satisfaction with the fact that Poland and Belgium cooperated with the UN experts on adopting, by consensus, a draft resolution on regional disarmament. The ministers will examine ways to expand such cooperation.

The ministers stressed the need to strictly observe the UN Charter in international relations. In this context they expressed the hope that disputed problems and conflicts, which give rise to concern in various regions of the world, will soon be solved peacefully. Expressing their deep satisfaction with the talks and their results, the two ministers reaffirmed their readiness to continue the dialogue in order to strengthen trust and cooperation in Europe. Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb invited Minister Jozef Czyrek to pay an official visit to Belgium. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

CEAUSESCU MEETS WITH YUGOSLAVIA'S GRLICKOV

AU122106 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 12, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia, who visited Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

Attending was Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Participating was Trifun Nikolic, ambassador of the SFR of Yugoslavia to Bucharest.

The guest conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu, to the entire leadership of the RCP and of the Romanian state a warm salute and warmest wishes on behalf of Lazar Mojsov, chairman of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY, and of Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on behalf of the Yugoslav party and state leadership.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and asked that on his behalf and on behalf of the leadership of the RCP and of the Romanian state, Lazar Mojsov and Cvijetin Mijatovic, the Presidium of the CC of the LCY and the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be conveyed a warm salute and the best wishes.

During the interview the sides evoked with deep satisfaction the relations of tight friendship and fruitful collaboration between the two countries, parties and peoples, relations that have incessantly expanded and enriched, in the spirit of the agreements reached during the numerous interviews and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Josip Broz Tito as well as during the recent interview between the RCP general secretary, the president of Romania, and the Yugoslav party and state leaders. Also highlighted was the wish of both sides to further develop and deepen the collaboration between the RCP and the LCY, to amplify and deepen, on multiple planes, the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia, to improve the exchanges of experience and opinions in the most varied domains of the socialist construction, on all the important problems of the struggle for peace, cooperation and social progress. The sides expressed the conviction that the sustained promotion of the Romanian-Yugoslav multilateral collaboration meets the interests of the two countries and peoples, of building the socialist system in Romania and Yugoslavia, supports the general cause of socialism and peace.

Also tackled were topical aspects of the world political life, the sides stressing the need for the peoples to intensify their struggle for diminishing the tension existing in the international life, for the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, collaboration and respect for the national independence, for solving peacefully, by means of negotiations, the tensions and conflicts in various regions of the globe, all the problems that confront mankind.

Examining the problems of European security and cooperation the sides highlighted the importance of the Madrid reunion's proceeding well so that it might meet the expectations of the peoples, give an impetus to the implementation as a coherent whole of the Helsinki Final Act, contribute to the development of wide, unhampered collaboration among the European states, and first of all, lead to measures of military disengagement on the continent.

The exchange of opinions has also brought to the fore the need for democratised international relations, active participation on an equal footing of all the states in settling the complex problems of the contemporary world. In agreement, the sides considered that an increasingly important role was incumbent in the international life on the nonaligned movement, on the developing countries that were directly interested in a policy of detente and peace, of collaboration and respect for the national independence.

Discussed were some problems of the international communist and working class movement. In this context the sides expressed the confidence of the two parties in the force of the Polish United Worker's Party, of the working class, of the entire Polish people to find adequate political solutions for leaving behind the present difficulties and securing Poland's advance further on the road of socialism and welfare of the working people.

During the talk the sides expressed the will of Romania and Yugoslavia to collaborate ever more actively internationally in order to make in the future too an important contribution to solving the great problems of contemporaneity, to the settlement of a climate of detente, security and collaboration in Europe and the world over. The same time expressed was the resolve of the Romanian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to take consistent action for strengthening the collaboration and solidarity of the communist and workers' parties, of all the progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, for national independence and social progress, for socialism.

The interview passed in a comradely atmosphere of warm friendship.

CAZACU HOLDS WORKING MEETING WITH HUNGARY'S GYENES

AU131505 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 12, Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, had, in Oradea Municipality, a friendly working meeting with Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

On the occasion, information was exchanged on the current concerns of the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the field of socialist construction, the positive course was surveyed of the Romanian-Bulgarian bilateral relations and the joint wish and determination was expressed to steadily work for the multilateral development of those relations in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect, of the tasks and understandings between Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary of the RCP, and Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP, in the interests of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, to the cause of socialism, peace, security and independence, of international cooperation and collaboration. Approached were also some aspects of the international situation and of the communist and working-class movement.

CEAUSESCU MEETS WITH SUDANESE FINANCE MINISTER

AU131627 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, this morning received Badr ad-Din Sulayman, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Socialist Union and minister of finance and national economic of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, who is leading his country's delegation to the fifth session of the Romanian-Sudanese joint political commission and the sixth session of the Romanian-Sudanese Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation.

The guest extended a message to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, president of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, and conveyed warm greetings and wishes for good health and happiness and wishes for prosperity to the Romanian people. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the message and for the wishes extended, and asked the guest to convey warm greetings to the president of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, together with wishes for well-being and happiness to the friendly Sudanese people.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides stressed the positive relations which are continuously developing between Romania and Sudan on the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural level on the basis of the decisions and agreements concluded during the Romanian-Sudanese summit dialogue.

They assessed that the developing economic potential of the two countries creates preconditions for further intensifying Romanian-Sudanese cooperation. They also expressed their joint interest in working out measures aimed at diversifying production sharing in important sectors of the economy, and at increasing and diversifying trade exchange. They expressed the conviction that the proceedings of the two commissions will lend impetus to Romanian-Sudanese cooperation in their mutual interest and that of strengthening friendship between the Romanian and Sudanese peoples, and in the interest of the general cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

The two sides also discussed certain aspects of the current international situation. In this context, they stressed the need to intensify efforts by all peoples to resume and strengthen the trend toward detente, peace and independence, and to resolve the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world by political means and negotiations. They stressed the desire of the two countries to cooperate more and more closely internationally, and to expand and deepen solidarity and cooperation with the developing countries so as to eliminate the phenomenon of underdevelopment and to establish a new world economic order based on equity and justice.

In this framework the two sides stressed the significance of strengthening the unity of action of all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in their struggle for peace, national independence and social progress, and a better and more just world.

The meeting took place in a cordial atmosphere.

Protocols Signed

AU131630 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] The proceedings of the two Romanian-Sudanese joint commissions ended in Bucharest today. At the end of the proceedings, the ratification instruments of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Sudan, signed in Khartoum in April 1979, were exchanged, and the session protocol was signed.

The two sides also signed a program on application of the cultural agreement between the governments of the two countries for 1981-83, and a trade protocol for 1981. As for economic cooperation, ventures in the field of the oil industry, energy, light industry, town planning and urban work are envisaged. Trade exchange will increase more than 30 percent compared with 1980, and will include exports of Romanian tractors, transformers, agricultural machines, fertilizers and imports of Sudanese cotton, hides and chrome ore.

DUMA MEETS WITH SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER IN MADRID

AU131806 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is on a visit in Madrid, was received today by Jose Pedro Perez Llorca, Spanish minister of foreign affairs. The two sides exchanged views on matters pertaining to further developing relations between the two countries in various fields of activity and on certain aspects of the current international situation. Special attention was paid to examining the manner in which the Madrid meeting is progressing. The two sides stressed the desire and joint concern of the two countries to make an active and constructive contribution to the proper progress of the Madrid meeting and its conclusion with positive and tangible results.

KOMUNIST APPEALS TO LET POLES SOLVE OWN PROBLEMS

AU132230 Belgrade TANJUG in Russian 1208 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--The Belgrade weekly newspaper KOMUNIST, organ of the LCY, carries an article by Dusan Bogavac entitled "Poland--Reality and Mirages."

"The absurdities [absurdy] of the world in which we live," the article says, "are grimly venting their fury in the Polish example. The clearer the situation appears to the leading forces in the country itself, and the more recognizable the way out of the crisis on their own national soil becomes, the more these absurdities try to present the 'Polish enigma' as being more enigmatic, more serious and more dangerous."

Clearly, is it really impossible for that deliberately created and artificial mirage to have an effect on the logic of interbloc confrontation which does not recognize the power of truth? This logic recognizes only the truth of power and when it proclaims this truth, arbitrarily and in the pursuit of its goals, it operates as if this were the genuine truth.

After all, the drama played last week in connection with Poland threw far more light upon the conflicting interests and real motives of the actors than upon the situation in the country, which has caused this drama. Essentially, this drama was used once again to cover, with the dark curtain of ideological propaganda, the truth about Poland, and about the nature and roots of the difficulties with which the Polish people, workers class and communists--encouraged by their hopes and the first results of reform--are trying to cope.

The facts of life often do not suit either the reactionary or dogmatic beliefs, which this time have also found themselves following one and the same line in order to halt the progressive social processes and preserve the status quo in their "own" reserved spheres of interest. They tailor these facts as it suits them and according to their own whims and needs.

Let us recall the sixth PZPR Central Committee plenum. Did that plenum 2 months ago not state its clear and loud judgment on the causes of this social conflict, the greatest in the history of People's Poland, a judgment that in the meantime has received the support of allies?

Naturally, the worst side of this short memory about these and other known and confirmed facts is that it is now being used as the starting point and proposal for an ultimatum-like demand for overcoming the crisis, meaning the enormous problems that have been accumulated, within an inconceivably shorter time. And what is involved in this connection are the problems of an evident crisis of the system that has been simmering for decades and has periodically intensified until it resulted in the present outbreak of workers' indignation. Therefore, at this time the Polish crisis, which can take a dramatic turn, is not caused as much by the situation in the country as it is caused and exacerbated by direct external influences and pressures, D. Bogovac writes in his article.

There is no aid that could be more valuable to Poland--even though it is in need of commodities and credits--than an opportunity for the Polish people and their workers class and party to solve their problems and difficulties themselves. At this time that is the first and last thought and the first and last wish of all workers and communists. After all, it is an inviolable and inalienable right of every people to be sovereign master of their fate and development.

All this is conspicuously confirmed by the fact that, seeing the dark clouds that have begun to gather in their sky, all Poles have harmoniously put aside their domestic large and small dilemmas, leaving the contradictions between viewpoints and solutions for more favorable times.

But it is well known that such a forced unity of national waiting, replacing an already created necessary climate of creative contradictions for the purpose of reforms and socialist social renewal, can lead only to blocking the solutions of problems and even to intensifying the crisis.

Briefly, the situation in the country--especially the political situation--is better and more stable, and the socialist forces are better organized and stronger than the foreign propaganda, trying to exaggerate the existing shortcomings and difficulties, tries to present them, KOMUNIST continues.

And what is involved is not just the fact that the party and the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity have completely succeeded in stopping the strikes, and thereby contributed to the resumption of production and the restoration of peace and discipline. By their actions, they have confirmed the real potential of their influence over the masses of people, as well as their readiness to cooperate in their respective political and trade union activities for a wider social stabilization. Each in their own ranks, has turned their efforts, more than anything else, to eliminating those forces hindering them.

However, the danger at this time is the possibility that precisely the fulfillment of the key tasks may be delayed or slowed down. This is a question of the tasks and measures formulated by the accords between workers and the government, and that subsequently won support and received a broader ideological and political elaboration at the PZPR plenums as a general platform of democratic renewal of Polish society on socialist principles. Consequently, it is a question of those changes that have been guaranteed to the Polish workers and society by their most responsible forces, the party and government leadership.

What is needed to carry out the aforementioned changes is a democratic and creative climate that will insure an uninterrupted continuation of the creative dialogue.

Therefore, an atmosphere of tension and nervousness, systematically created by many external factors through activities ranging from propaganda and political activities, to groundless accusations about "mass" phenomena and promoters of counterrevolution, to a psychosis of military encirclement, has its effect. Thus, for instance, the increasingly strong and imperative demands for quickly overcoming the economic and political crisis, for which, according to both plenums, a longer period is objectively required, cause more harm to the existing situation than they contribute to its normalization, and exacerbate it to a greater extent than they contribute to its calming. In this respect, it is not an unfounded conviction that the process of the necessary strengthening of cooperation between the party and the new trade unions in realizing the open and widely accepted social processes may be stopped or wrecked for these reasons.

This explains why the only real solution is to let the Poles settle their own problems and fulfill the adopted prospects of socialist renewal--in peace, among themselves, in their own home, and under the leadership of their workers class and their party.

AKSENOV, BELORUSSIAN DELEGATION ARRIVE FOR VISIT

LD142308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANGJUG)--A delegation of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR, led by Aleksandr Nikiforovich Aksenov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in our country today at the invitation of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The Belorussian delegation, which also comprises Viktor Aleksandrovich Gvozdev, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR and chairman of Belorussia's State Planning Committee; Ilya Mikhaylovich Glazkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lev Georgiyevich Maksimov, administrator of affairs of the Council of Ministers; and Gennadiy Semenovich Konotopov, head of the group for economic contacts with other countries, was welcomed at Belgrade airport by Joze Florjancic, deputy president of the Slovene Executive Council, and by Drago Mirosic, deputy chairman of the Republican Committee for International Cooperation.

Members of the Belorussian delegation will have talks with representatives of Slovene Executive Council, led by Janez Zemljaric, president of the Executive Council. The guests from Belorussia will also be received by Dr Marjan Rozic, president of the Ljubljana City Assembly, and by Dr Slavko Hodzar, rector of Edvard Kardelj University in Ljubljana.

During their 4-day visit to Slovenia, the delegation of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR will visit several Slovene work organizations and the port of Koper and will have talks with representatives of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, of the Republican Chamber of Economy and of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

ROMANIAN FRONT DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR TALKS

LD131832 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Romanian Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity arrived in Yugoslavia today on an official visit to this country at the invitation of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

During the first round of talks, the participants particularly underlined the successful long term cooperation between the two organizations and expressed readiness to expand the present and establish new forms of cooperation.

The Romanian delegation is headed by Executive Chairman of the Romanian Front's National Council and member of the State Council Tamara Dobrin, and the Yugoslav delegation by member of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Petar Rakocevic.

BULGARIA'S LILOV VISITS MONTENEGRIN LITTORAL

AU122140 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 80 p 6

[Text] Titograd--Aleksandur Lilov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and member of the Central Committee Politburo, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, yesterday visited the Montenegrin littoral. He was accompanied by Marko Matkovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro, Budimir Babovic, executive secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro, and Rayko Nikolov, Bulgarian ambassador to the SFRY. Lilov visited Hercegnovi, Budva and Kotor.

PROTOCOL ON BORDER REGULATIONS SIGNED WITH BULGARIA

AU131517 Sofia BTA in English 0850 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (BTA)--The 8th session of the permanent Bulgaro-Yugoslav commission for the application of the agreement regulating the traffic of population in the frontier zones between the two countries, was held from December 9 to 12 in Belgrade.

The protocol signed on the session provides for further facilitation of the contacts of the population in the frontier zones and for filling with richer content the already traditional gatherings in the frontier zones between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

RUSEV, BULGARIAN ECONOMIC DELEGATION HOLD TALKS

AU121540 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (BTA)--A delegation of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry led by the chamber's president, Mr Petur Rusev, was on a visit here at the invitation of the Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy. The talks with state and economic officials touched on the adoption of new forms of long-term industrial, commercial, economic, scientific and technologial cooperation on a lasting basis between the economic bodies and organizations of the two neighbouring socialist countries.

CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALMIERCA ARRIVES

FL121520 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Belgrade--Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli arrived today in Belgrade from London, where he met with former Swedish Premier Olof Palme. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec and other high ranking officials were at the local airport to welcome Malmierca.

Talks With Mijatovic

LD121618 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the Presidency of the SFRY, received Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, in the Palace of the Federation today and had a long and firendly conversation with him. Minister Malmierca conveyed cordial greetings from President Fidel Castro which Cvijetin Mijatovic returned warmly.

The Cuban minister of foreign affairs then, by order of President Fidel Castro, spoke about the recent talks he had in Baghdad and Tehran on the Iraq-Iran conflict, and about contacts with other statesmen and prominent political figures. Minister Malmierca spoke in particular about the efforts to convene a meeting of the goodwill committee on the basis of the conclusions of the recent Belgrade meeting of six ministers from nonaligned countries.

Speaking about the many serious consequences of this tragic conflict, Mijatovic emphasized the need to make persistent and joint efforts with a view to achieving a peaceable and just solution on the basis of the principles of nonalignment and in the framework of agreed standpoints between nonaligned countries. During the conversation, the positive significance of the Belgrade ministerial meeting referred to was also emphasized in this context.

Also taking part in the conversation, which also touched on other issues of nonaligned policy, were Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Jose Valdes Espinosa, Cuba's ambassador in Belgrade; and others.

Talks With Vrhovec, Departure

LD131428 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, had talks with Isidoro Malmierca, Cuba's foreign affairs minister, who arrived in Belgrade today, and then invited him to lunch.

Vrhovec and Malmierca carried out an exhaustive exchange of views on further joint actions by nonaligned countries for a peaceful solution to the conflict between Iraq and Iran based on the conclusions of the meeting of foreign affairs ministers of six members of the nonaligned movement held in Belgrade at the beginning of November.

They also exchanged views on the preparations for the ministerial conference of nonaligned countries in New Delhi and expressed readiness to invest maximum efforts so that this significant conference will achieve full success on the basis of the well known principles of nonaligned policy.

Minister Malmierca left Yugoslavia this evening.

COLOVIC COMMENTS ON NONALIGNED CONFERENCE

AU132023 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] All nonaligned countries are now preparing for the coming February meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries in New Delhi. Last week in our country the Federal Social Council for International Relations held a session within the framework of these preparations. Dragan Colovic has the following to say in connection with that session:

If we may judge by what was stated at the session of the council, the worsened international situation is least of all a motive or reason to retreat before increased difficulties. It is rather to a greater extent a chance for and a challenge to all peace-loving forces among which, we can say, the nonaligned movement plays a key role. However, there is intentional speculation claiming that, confronted with its internal quarrels and differences, the nonaligned movement is tired out and is allegedly incapable of undertaking the broadest international action that would change the direction of the current negative trends on the world scene. These speculations originate among the circles of both blocs, which are waging a sharp struggle over spheres of interest and influence. What is characteristic in this connection is the fact that at present they are not engaged in any direct conflict, but rather on the backs of other, primarily nonaligned and developing countries.

It is difficult to believe that both blocs do not have their fingers in the current conflicts in the Middle East, Africa and other places. What is involved are the military, strategic and economic interests of the big powers and blocs which do not shrink from any actions ranging from covert forms of intereference to direct intervention. Oil, uranium and other raw materials have been and continue interference today to be the main target in the struggle of the imperialist and hegemonist forces of the world.

Therefore it is becoming increasingly evident that what is needed are the most energetic initiatives and actions of other, primarily nonaligned countries to make the international situation more bearable and the disturbed world peace more certain. Hence, too, the New Delhi ministerial conference of nonaligned countries has an extraordinary great international importance. It is a special circumstance that that conference will be held 20 years after the first conference of nonaligned countries in Belgrade which, let us recall, issued an appeal to the big powers to replace their mutual threats and sabre rattling with negotiations. That was an event of historical importance in view of the fact that it was then followed by a thaw in relations between the big powers and blocs at a time when the cold war had reached its climax.

Judging by the extensive preparations of our country for the New Delhi conference, among which the session of the Federal Social Council for International Relations is only one link in the chain of activities in this connection, it must be expected that, as in the past, Yugoslavia will make its maximum efforts to ensure that the nonaligned movement will even more strongly assert itself as a nonbloc, independent and, what is most important, effective factor in international relations.

The original principles and goals of the nonaligned movement have grown deep roots and are spreading in the world as an alternative to the bloc concept of international relations. They open up the prospects for a better and more just world, a world of peace, a world devoid of interventions and foreign interference, and devoid of any encroachments upon the wealth and territories of others.

ROTAR DISCUSSES MEAT EXPORTS WITH IRANIAN ENVOY

AU131828 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0400 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Metod Rotar, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign trade, received Maarten van Berckel, the Netherlands' ambassador to Yugoslavia. They discussed economic cooperation and especially cooperation between the Beograd agricultural combine and the Rotterdam Unilever firm.

Yesterday, Metod Rotar also received (Ahmud Abu Seyyed), charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Yugoslavia. During a talk on the economic cooperation the two countries, special attention was paid to meat exports to Iran.

MIJATOVIC RECEIVES LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER

AU121952 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Dec 80

[Text] In Belgrade Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the Yugoslavia's Presidency, received Georges Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party, and held a friendly talk with him.

HODZA SPEAKS AT WELCOMING CEREMONY IN GHANA

[Text] Accra, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--Fadilj Hodza, member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, arrived here last night for an official 3-day visit to Ghana. The highest honors were accorded to him at his arrival. Vice-President Degraft Johnson welcomed Hodza on behalf of President Limann of Ghana.

In greeting Fadilj Hodza, Vice-President Degraft Johnson recalled that Ghana and Yugoslavia are linked together by relations of close cooperation and friendship since the time of President Nkrumah, a close associate for President Tito in setting up the nonaligned movement. He expressed his hope for talks between Hodza and Ghanian leaders to make a new contribution to the further consolidation of relations between the two countries.

In reply to Degraft Johnson's greeting speech, Fadilj Hodza emphasized that the complex international situation required a strengthened activity of the international community, of the nonaligned countries in particular.

Fadilj Hodza expressed his conviction that his talks with President Limann of Ghana and Vice-President Degraft Johnson would contribute to the consolidation of solidarity and action unity in the nonaligned movement to which Ghana and Yugoslavia belong since its foundation.

VOJVODINA'S KMEZIC ON PROSPECTS FOR TRADE WITH U.S.

LD150428 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)--President of the Executive Council of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Vojvodina Nikola Kmezic has assessed that good possibilities exist for increasing exports from Vojvodina to U.S. markets. At the same time Kmezic stressed Vojvodina's interest in importing modern U.S. technology.

Nikola Kmezic returned today from a 10-day visit to the United States where he headed a delegation of Vojvodina. Delegation members had talks with representatives of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and a number of companies interested in advancing cooperation with Vojvodina enterprises.

Nikola Kmezic assessed that the talks the Vojvodina delegation had with U.S. representatives were very useful. He said that after these talks new broad possibilities for the advancement of economic cooperation are being opened. Nikola Kmezic particularly stressed the interest of U.S. companies for joint investments in Vojvodina and joint [words indistinct] with Vojvodina enterprises on third markets.

KOSTIC TALKS WITH THAI MINISTER IN BANGKOK

AU122146 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 80 p 8

[Text] Yesterday in Bangkok, Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance, met with Amnuai Wirawan, Thai minister of finance, and discussed with him the promotion of economic-financial cooperation between Yugoslavia and Thailand. Kostic arrived in Bangkok from Manila, where he had attended the ministerial meeting of the Committee of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

GRLICKOV RECEIVES OUTGOING PRC AMBASSADOR

AU122143 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] (TANJUG)--Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium yesterday received for a farewell visit Zhou Qieyie, China's ambassador to the SFRY.

MARKOVIC, ASSEMBLY DELEGATION RETURN FROM AUSTRIA

AU131830 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Dragoslav Markovic, president of the Yugoslavia's Assembly, and members of the Assembly delegation have returned to Belgrade from their official visit to Austria that lasted several days. During the visit the delegation from Yugoslavia's Assembly had talks with Willibald Pahr, chief of Austrian diplomacy, Staribacher, minister of trade, and Dallinger, minister of social administration. They also met with members of both houses of the Austrian parliament and with members of the Austrian group of the Interparliamentary Union. As has been mutually stressed on several occasions, the visit of the delegation from Yugoslavia's Assembly has provided new evidence of the good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

VRHOVEC HANDS MESSAGE TO PAPAL REPRESENTATIVE

LD121540 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received Michele Cecchini, apostolic pronuncio in Yugoslavia, to whom he presented a message from Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Pope John-Paul II. The message is the reply to a recent message from the Pope in connection with the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Madrid.

MARINC REPORT TO 25TH LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

LD041550 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0932 GMT 04 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)--"By the socialist revolution and development of self-management, all Yugoslav nations and nationalities, republics and provinces have created a united community of nations and nationalities with equal rights in which they all have gained their political, national, economic and cultural affirmation", stated Andrej Marinc, member of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency, in his report at today's session of the Central Committee.

The session discussed ideo-political questions of Yugoslavia's social and economic development in the 1980-85 period and the tasks facing the League of Communists and other socialist forces.

"Equality and the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities are being consolidated daily", pointed out Marinc. With the overall development, the country's defence ability also strengthened. The concept of all-people's defence and social self-protection is a part of Yugoslav development as a whole.

"Tito's Yugoslavia and any part of it are no longer a province of Europe, the old Balkans and place in which the imperialist and hegemonist interests of individual countries or groups of countries contended with one another. But it does not mean that certain aspirations and pressures on the Yugoslav independence and autonomy do not exist even today".

Marinc noted the dynamic progress made by all the Yugoslav constituent republics and provinces in their economic and social development over the past decades of socialist construction, and the fact that the country's per-capita gross domestic product has reached nearly 2,500 dollars.

He underlined that Yugoslavia, although still with some characteristics of a developing country, must also tackle questions which confront the more industrialized countries. To illustrate its economic growth so far, he recalled that the growth rate of Yugoslavia's GDP in the past medium-term plan period--5.7 per cent--was higher than in the OECD countries (about 4 per cent) and the COMECON countries (about 4.5 per cent).

At the same time, the number of employed in the social sector of the economy increased by over one million.

"The results achieved in developing the forces of production and socialist self-management relations are the foundation of our future material and social advance", stated Marinc.

The coming five-year period should be considered one of economic stabilization, he said. "In perceiving the possibilities of development, the foundations of the socialist self-management system created by the new constitution should be placed in the fore-front", stressed Marinc for, "socialist self-management is becoming an inseparable part of the consciousness of the working class and working people of all our nations and nationalities".

Marinc stressed the need for strengthening the position of workers in decision-making on income and social reproduction in its entirety, and described it as the essence of the implementation of the economic stabilization policy on a more lasting basis. He called for working "much more quickly and efficiently" on the further improvement of the self-management system because statist-bureaucratic solutions, alien to it, are obstructing the effectiveness of the economic policy. Moreover, the majority of fundamental system-related solutions have not, essentially, ever been applied, noted Marinc.

Accentuating the task of the League of Communists to encourage activity, and also dialogues on individual theoretical and practical solutions, Marinc remarked that "attempts are also being made to demand change in some fundamentals of the system, to offer solutions which are outdated and not in keeping with our basic concept".

"These demands", specified Marinc, "come not from the social base; from the practice of associated labor, but rather from those alienated from this practice".

One of the major causes of Yugoslavia's current economic difficulties, said Marinc, are the "narrow frameworks, or rather inadequate direct influence of economic laws on economic activity and development.

"The effects of economic laws and market criteria in economic operation are dampened by the fact that the workers in basic organizations of associated labor do not have enough influence on the conditions of income generation and distribution and general conditions of economic activity".

The policy of intensifying development in the coming period, "implies, above all, the orientation towards an expansion of production upon realistic foundations, dynamic growth in exports, more comprehensive joining on the basis of greater equality of the international economic relations, more effective investment, higher productivity of labour and the maximum utilization of reserves, that is, improvement in the quality of economic operation as a whole".

Marinc also noted that the investments accounted for about 40 percent of the country's gross domestic product in the last two medium-term development plan periods. This placed Yugoslavia amongst the countries with the highest participation of investment in gross domestic product. While contributing considerably to its economic development, it weakened the effectiveness of investment and of the overall economic activity. For this reason, stressed Marinc, "the policy of investment, that is, expanded reproduction as a whole, should undergo radical changes in regard to both decision-making, in which the worker in associated labor must be the main subject, and the volume and structure of investments".

Laying emphasis on the need to prevent extensive development and to intensify economic development in its entirety, Marinc also urged economy in operation and economy programmes. Incongruities in the structure of the economy will also have to be eliminated.

In this context the use of domestic potentials and the faster development of the sources of energy, food production and primary industries constitute an economic advantage." Yugoslavia must determine and pursue a long-term strategy of economic and technological development", Marinc emphasized. He also called for the "intensification and development of the forms of economic cooperation which ensure more effective penetrations into the international division of labour on an equal footing".

Among the most important objectives of the coming five-year development period Marinc cited more rapid development of Yugoslavia's underdeveloped republic and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, environment protection, rational use of space, town planning and development, and standard of living. In this respect to this last objective he said it was essential that the "results of work become the basic criterion determining the material position of man".

Andrej Marinc emphasized in particular that the "communists should realize their vanguard role in the delegation system and within the entirety of the self-management organization of associated labour, that is, together with the working people and citizens on the basis of equality".

"As an ingrative [as received] factor of society and responsible factor of the continuity of the revolution and development of the socialist self-management system", the League of Communists "should exercise its influence in the passing of decisions in conformity with the jointly established lasting interests of the working class".

Plans for the next medium-term period should ensure clear prospects and continuity of development upon realistic foundations of stabilization, and this can only be achieved by means of the widest possible mobilization of the working people and organized forces of society. "We have achieved a high level of internal political unity", underlined Marinc in conclusion, pointing to the "great readiness of the working people to come to grips with concrete economic problems and overcome them effectively, as they did on several occasions in the past".

PROPOSALS TO REBALANCE 1980 FEDERAL BUDGET ISSUED

AU122139 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Coratian 9 Dec 80 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)--Acting in accordance with the conclusions of the Committee for Finance of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the Federal Secretariat for Finance has proposed new solutions that will, as is believed, make it possible to rebalance the federation's 1980 budget as soon as possible.

A majority of the republics and provinces were not inclined to accept the proposed increase in the volume of the federation's budget for this year, on the ground that such an increase would have been contrary to the stabilization policy and the limitation of general and common expenditures.

According to the latest estimates, the part of the revenues from customs duties and other import tariffs that is allocated to the federation's budget will amount to 19.6 billion dinars; that is, 3.8 billion dinars more than according to the original estimate incorporated in the draft budget rebalnce for 1980. The federation's budget deficit for this year is consequently reduced by the amount of 3.8 billion dinars, and the proposed increase in the contributions of the republics and provinces to the federation's budget for this year will therefore not be necessary.

The federation revenue from its budget sources is increased by a little over 4 billion dinars. The increased budget expenditures for 1980 would be covered--as proposed previously--by a bond issue for 14.8 billion dinars, depending on the realization of revenues from customs duties and the trade tax.

MEDENICA ON 1981-85 PLAN 'STRATEGIC ORIENTATIONS'

AU131818 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Dusan Djordjevic interview with Spasoje Medenica, general director of the Federal Institute for Social Planning--date and place not given, live or recorded]

[Summary] Next week in Belgrade, the social accord on the foundations of the 1981-85 medium-term plan will be signed. In this connection, Dusan Djordjevic interviews Spasoje Medenica, general director of the Federal Institute for Social Planning, on the basic strategic orientations of development in the next 5 years.

[Djordjevic] Comrade Medenica, are we sufficnelty ambitious in our plans for a quicker development of agriculture?

[Medenica] "I believe that under the existing conditions we are sufficiently ambitious in this respect, although I think the potential for a quicker development than planned exists." However, we aim at stabilizing our annual production of wheat at an average of 6 million tons, and that of corn at an average of 12 million tons in the coming 5-year period as compared with the average annual production of 5 and 9 million tons, respectively, under the current 5-year plan.

[Question] Does that mean that it is possible to expect new employment opportunities in agriculture?

[Answer] Yes. We estimate that in the coming 5-year period agriculture, together with some other small-scale economic operations and agricultural product processing activities, will increase their employment by about 2 percent annually and employ a total of about 1.3 million new workers during the entire period.

[Question] And what will our standard of living be in the coming 5 years?

[Answer] The real personal income should increase at an annual rate of abut 1.5 percent. We also plan for some 751,000 new apartments to be built during the 5-year period.

[Question] Greater exports are a strategic orientation this year and should also be in the coming 5-year period.

[Answer] The total social product is planned to increase at an annual rate of 4.5 percent, and industrial production at an annual rate of 5 percent. We can no longer afford such large foreign debts as we have incurred in the past, and therefore exports are the key problem of our entire development strategy.

[Question] It is anticipated that exports must increase at an annual rate of about 8 percent and that, according to the social accord, imports must be reduced.

[Answer] It is planned to reduce our imports at an annual rate of 1.1 percent. In fact, imports of producer goods will be increasing at an annual rate of about 3.5 to 4 percent whereas imports of consumer goods will be significantly reduced. We also believe that in the coming 5-year period our exports should pay for about 70 percent of our imports, as compared with the corresponding figure of about 55 percent for this year.

[Question] How will a quicker development of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia, and the quickest development of the Province of Kosovo, be ensured in the coming period?

[Answer] It will be primarily ensured through obligatory loans which will amount to 50 percent of the total fund for the development of these regions. The other 50 percent of the fund will be realized through pooling of resources. The funds for the development of these regions will be allocated at an annual rate of 1.83 percent of the social product.

SERBIA DELAYS ADOPTING MEDIUM-TERM REPUBLIC PLAN

AU111217 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 80 p 5

[S. Lazarevic report]

[Summary] At its session yesterday the Serbian Executive Council announced that it would "complete the drafting of the new medium-term plan of the republic and submit it to the Republican Assembly at the latest by the end of the year. The draft document will be placed before delegates of the Assembly 2 months after the confirmation of the final draft of Yugoslavia's social plan." It had been originally planned that the Serbian draft medium-term plan would be submitted to the Republican Assembly by 20 October. However, the difficult economic situation in the country has delayed the necessary self-managing agreements and accords and the adoption of the appropriate solutions pertaining to the system within the federation, and consequently also caused a delay in preparation of the republican plans and accompanying documents. According to the latest proposals of the Federal Executive Council, "the most important documents on the medium-term development of Yugoslavia for the 1981-85 period will be adopted by 28 February 1981."

POPIT 'INDUCED' TO REWRITE PART OF REPORT

AU142027 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 80 p 10

[Jovan Pjevic article: "In Focus: Dramatic Turning Point"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] It frequently happens that the so-called introductory, casual remarks made by certain participants in discussions have a greater effect than the "vital part of the discussion." Something similar also happened at the last, the eighth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

"Casual" remarks made by Vinko Hafner and Mitja Ribicic induced Franc Popit, president of the Central Committee, to rephrase, to "soften," the second part of the initial sentence of his report, while the result of "remarks" made by Milan Kucan was that the conclusions were more precisely defined.

The initial passage of the report read by Popit which contained the "dramatic words" to which Hafner referred (directly) and Ribicic (indirectly) reads: "We have reached a crucial turning point when the question arises WHETHER WE WILL ASSERT THE SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGING SYSTEM AS OUR GREATEST ADVANTAGE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE WORLD, AS A NEW HUMAN VALUE, OR WHETHER THE FORCES THAT ARE AGAINST SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT WILL TAKE OVER."

Comparison

Referring to that passage, Hafner said among other things:

"I fully agree with the guidelines laid down in Comrade Popit's report but, nonetheless, I want to draw your attention to the beginning of his report which, it appears to me, is somewhat 'dramatically' formulated and which primarily demonstrates why we have found ourselves in such a situation.... In continuing his report, Comrade Popit says that the dilemma could be overcome and that we are capable of overcoming it. Nonetheless, I want to draw your attention to the report and to such a 'hard,' one could say a dramatic statement, which in some ways is similar to the conclusion made at the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in 1971 and at the 23rd session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia in 1972 when we settled accounts with liberalist and technocratic tendencies. Following those sessions we entered a period of political stabilization with a clear orientation toward developing self-managing socio-economic relations. We adopted the Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and we found a number of good solutions."

Direction of Struggle

Mitja Ribicic also dealt with this "dilemma," but within a somewhat wider context: "It is necessary to explain to the working people in an understandable manner what we wanted to say with this report (what is meant here is the report by the president of the Central Committee--BORBA note), what a restriction of illusions in the field of social policy and elsewhere means, what an investment front is and how we will reduce it, what exports and licences mean and why at this moment we indispensably need up-to-date technology, capable scientists and good work organizers. We must also explain to the people why it is indispensable to invest more in the underdeveloped parts of the country, why it is necessary to pool resources for various priority programs and so forth, so that we will win the victory in connection with all these problems that we defined as a fateful turning point."

Following these two statements, Franc Popit, who presided, proposed that the first sentence "about which two remarks were made" should be rewritten and that the new version (which was also adopted) should read: "We have reached a crucial turning point when the question arises WHETHER WE WILL ASSERT IN PRACTICE THE SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGING POSITION OF WORKERS IN THE BASIC ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOR AND IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY SO THAT THEY CAN DECIDE ON THE CONDITIONS AND RESULTS OF WORK...." He said that in the final analysis it does not matter how something is written and that the best verdict on everything will be given in daily practice.

SELF-DEFENSE EXERCISE IN TITOGRAD REPORTED

LD141500 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Titograd, 13 Dec (TANJUG)--During the night of 12-13 December, republican organs and organizations and the daily information media of Montenegro organized in Titograd the exercise "Rumija 80" which tested their activity in conditions of direct threat of war.

According to the first assessment by the exercise leadership, all planned targets were achieved and the ability of the participants was verified. The rather useful experience gained during the exercise will contribute to further improvement of the ability of these organs and organizations to function in conditions of an all-people's defense war.

LOLIC ON 'OPPOSITION PLATFORM' ATTEMPT, DJILAS

AU112200 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 80 p 11

[Marko Lolic article: "Phenomenon: 'JAVNOST' Against the Public"]

[Excerpts] The recent statement by the SAWP of Belgrade in connection with the intention of a group of citizens to begin publishing the journal JAVNOST [THE PUBLIC] has turned the attention of our real public to an attempt at an organized formation of an opposition platform that would rally the opponents of our system who otherwise have until now continuously appeared in close alliance with reactionary circles and forces abroad.

Just as has been the case with the other trial and propaganda balloons in the past, again the authors and sponsors of the "platform" offer nothing really new, either in the method of their action or in the substance of the "platform."

As practice has shown, they operate simultaneously on two "fronts": The one in the country where their goal is to impose themselves on the public and to tie themselves together, and the other one outside the borders of our country, from where they are receiving support and encouragement from the most reactionary circles, including hostile emigre groups. Judging by the "theses" of these groups and individuals, what they are "testing" and marketing now, should, according to them, be only an introduction to a broader opposition formula which, in combination with the complex international situation and Yugoslavia's economic difficulties, should, in their opinion, bring them success. In this connection they (people of that kind) place considerable faith in the intensified ideological and propaganda pressures against our country, pressure that "must" come (since "changes" in Yugoslavia are allegedly "inevitable").

Abuse of Tradition

As has been seen, it is currently in great fashion among the handful of these people to scream all over the place proclaiming that there is no democracy in our country and, at the same time, demand the publication of their newspapers and journals that would express the aspirations for some kind of a different democracy and for some kind of "new freedoms" and fight for the "general good," for "lasting human values" and the like, because allegedly there is not enough freedom or feeling for such "values" in our country and so forth.

Another journal by the same name was edited 100 years ago by Svetozar Markovic, a persistent and implacable fighter against the despotism of Obrenovic's regime and founder of the socialist movement in Serbia. And when today someone plays with the shining name of JAVNOST, wishing to present himself as the "continuation of socialist ideas in Serbia," then that is a gross manipulation and deception and certainly also a provocation and irony of a special kind.

The promoters of this JAVNOST are "precise" in yet another thing: They do not once mention either the workers class and its historical mission or the League of Communists and other organized forces of our socialism. But on the other hand they dream about reorienting our development and offer their criticism and negation of everything that we are doing.

Djilas' Campaign

The "program orientation" has nothing to say about the extent of their opposition to, say, nationalism or, for instance, to Djilasism [Djilasovstina]....

And yet they know (as we also note) that Milovan Djilas' frenzied and increasingly absurd campaign against our country, against our revolution, against the LCY and against the person of Comrade Tito continues. Djilas very nearly overtly collaborates with the hostile political emigres abroad. The latest "jewel" in this anti-Yugoslav intrigue is Djilas' appearance in NASA REC, organ of the Chetnik emigres, which is published in London and an editor of which is Djilas' son Aleksa, who is also an emigrant.

Is is possible that, well informed as they otherwise are, they have overlooked the political pamphlet written by Milovan Djilas that has been offered in several Western countries as a "critical biography" of Josip Broz Tito? Even though it was published immediately after the president's death and was aggressively advertised, that pasquinade has failed to evoke the anticipated sympathies for which its authors had secretly hoped. On the contrary, it was precisely some Western newspapers that published critical reviews and expressed their disillusionment with the low level of Djilas' writing and its substance bent on intrigue.

Self-Management and Freedom

Why do we talk and write about all that? Is it not a somewhat superfluous task? For what is involved is not some kind of an opposition front, nor is there such a front in Yugoslavia. What is really involved in this connection are certain well-known individuals and small groups who have been in conflict with the theory and practice of socialist self-management and the LCY policy for years now and who would like to impose themselves as a political partner within the society but a partner, at that, with a privileged position.

As far as we are concerned, while intensifying our struggle against the petit bourgeois ideas, against all forms of dogmatism and against all actions and phenomena of bureaucratism in our country, we must be equally resolute in our opposition to nationalists, anarcholiberals and the so-called bourgeois right. After all, real freedoms are broadened and developed by true self-management and not by any propaganda dust that anyone tries to throw into the eyes (and to the motive forces) of the basic course and vital interests of the social community.

That too is the reason why we call things and phenomena by their true names and why, in ideologically elucidating and preparing the League of Communists for revolutionary action and theory, we perceive all aspects and the whole truth. Thereby we also facilitate understanding of the fact that, whenever they materialize, various quasi-humanist theses always tend in practice to a typical statism or to the well-known bourgeois democracy and the struggle for power.

Linking finally the practical struggle of communists and the working people to overcome the current economic difficulties and open prospects for our further self-managing, democratic and socialist development, with considerably more highly developed theoretical work, we at the same time orient ourselves to creating and cultivating such a climate in society that encourages research work and creative and principled criticism.

Considered in this manner, the "platform" offered by the journal JAVNOST is certainly not in the interest of the real public. It is essentially against it, even though it covers itself with the savior's cloak, claiming that we have strayed somewhat and that we should be returned to the "right," that is, their road.

No one is really more critical than ourselves toward what we have created and continue to create. But we are not prepared to naively accept an "alternative" to the independent road to socialism and to the society of associated labor and self-management within the relations of real equality among nations. It is by its collective will that this society has determined its real alternative and it is along its historical line that the society will ceaselessly struggle for even greater democracy and more criticism and to expand the horizons of human freedom.